VOLUME XXXVIII No. 4

The Catholic Historical Review

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VOLUME XXXVIII

APRIL, 1952 to JANUARY, 1953

Published Quarterly by
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS
Washington 17, D. C.
1953

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The Catholic Historical Review

Vol. XXXVIII JANUARY, 1953 No. 4

APPEASEMENT, 1937*

By

Raymond J. Sontag

As, in our foreign policy, we grope our way along paths from which most of the old signposts are gone, it is well from time to time to look back over that earlier stretch of road which ended in World War II. Let us take a comparatively level part of that road, from the spring of 1937—when, after the coronation of George VI, Neville Chamberlain succeeded Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister—down to the end of that year.

If we are to learn from watching the travellers along that road, we must get away from the righteous indignation and the supercilious contempt which too often mar accounts of the origins of World War II. In particular, Neville Chamberlain has been ridiculed as a timid man of mediocre mind, or denounced as a stupid reactionary who tried to win alliance with fascists and became their dupe. If he was either, there would be little profit in trying to see the world through his eyes, or the eyes of those who supported his leadership.

If one places oneself in 1937 and looks back on the long career of Chamberlain, a very different figure emerges, the figure of a British patriot, devoted to the service of his country, and bringing to that service a strong will, demonstrated political capacity, and a vigorous if narrow intellect. He was not a reactionary; instead, he was a social

* Presidential address of the American Catholic Historical Association, Washington, December 30, 1952. Mr. Sontag is professor of modern European history in the University of California, Berkeley.

reformer. From study and travel, he had acquired an interest in, and a knowledge of, other countries. He had early urged the necessity for rearmament. When he took office, and for long in office, he had the confidence, not only of the bulk of his party in Parliament, but of most of his countrymen.

We can see now that his career as Prime Minister was a failure, a failure which almost brought his country to ruin. What makes that failure worth pondering is that it resulted in large measure from convictions and ideals which had long been dominant in the liberal West, convictions and ideals which were believed to be of eternal and universal validity, but which proved treacherous guides when applied to dealings with totalitarian States.

By the time Chamberlain took office, the international settlement created at Paris after World War I was already in ruins. By his "Saturday surprises" Hitler had shaken off the restraints of the Treaty of Versailles and the Locarno agreement. Japan had seized Manchukuo, and Italy had conquered Ethiopia. These events, together with Hitler's surprises, had sadly impaired the prestige of the League of Nations. Open attacks on the league were still met with the argument that "this generation is called upon to make a supreme choice—not between conciliation and sanctions—but between anarchy and the rule of Law."[1] However, the assembly meeting of May, 1937, seemed "funereal" even to a sympathetic observer: "Nothing seems real in the prevailing twilight of Geneva."[2]

With faith in the League, faith in disarmament as a cure for war had waned. According to the New York *Times* (April 2, 1937) Bertrand Russell was still urging that, if the Nazis invaded England, they should be welcomed like tourists and greeted in a friendly way because "whatever damage the Germans could do us would not be worse than the damage done in fighting them, even if we won." To most Englishmen, such advice had, by then, little appeal in face of revived German military power. As Anthony Eden said a few days later, Britain was "rearming on a scale unprecedented in this country in time of peace."[3] Even the Labor Party was shortly to end its traditional opposition to increased armament.

[1] Letter to the London *Times*, April 23, 1937. From April 14 there was vigorous discussion of sanctions.

[2] New York *Times*, May 29, 1937.

[3] Speech at Liverpool, April 12, 1937.

Looked at from London, or at least from the Government benches, in that coronation spring, the road ahead was beset with difficulties, but confidence was high that ways around or through these difficulties could be found by discussion between reasonable men, and that the statesmen of the world would be reasonable. To be sure, the dissatisfied powers were united—Germany and Italy by the Rome-Berlin Axis, and Germany and Japan by the Anti-Comintern Pact. But the economic position of all three powers was thought very weak, and despite all their protests of solidarity there were grave conflicts of interest between the three; given prosperity and the satisfaction of their "reasonable" aspirations, the three could be induced to recognize the necessity for peaceful co-operation.

Just as British statesmen were not impressed by the bonds uniting Berlin with Rome and Tokyo, so they were not, on the whole, alarmed by the absence of a united front among the powers opposed to the Axis and the pact. There was ironical comment on the "chill" which prevented Marshal Tukhachevsky from representing the Soviet Union at the coronation. When he and other leaders of the Red Army were purged, British opinion had no doubt that the international position of the USSR had suffered a grievous blow; but few felt that the blow impaired the British position in the world. Similarly, when on April 29, 1937, the American Congress passed a neutrality bill which was supposed to prevent the United States from being drawn into another European war, British opinion was not seriously alarmed. Again, everyone realized that the French alliance system in Central Europe was in a parlous state: the relations of Poland with Germany, and of Yugoslavia with Italy, were obviously close, while Rumania was drifting into the German orbit. The shifting loyalties of the Central European States were carefully noted in London, but they did not awaken great apprehension. Finally, there was the situation in France, symbolized by the unfinished state of the Paris International Exposition when it was formally opened on May 24. President Lebrun and his party were forced to make most of their tour by water so that it would not be necessary for them "to pick their way among trenches, scaffolding, and heaps of sand."[4] French finances were in a sorry state, and French governments were short-lived. British comments on the politics and the finances of their most im-

[4] London *Times*, May 25, 1937.

portant ally showed much exasperation; but confidence in the French army and in French patriotism remained.

The one part of the world which really alarmed the rulers of Britain was Spain. The civil war itself did not frighten them: they were confident that whichever side won, it would show, as Eden put it, "that proud independence" traditional among the Spanish people, and Spanish independence served British interests. It was the incidents and rising tempers attendant on foreign intervention in the civil war which worried the British government. Therefore, the British clung tenaciously to the Non-Intervention Committee which had been set up in London in the early days of the civil war.

With the coming of spring in 1937 there seemed a good prospect of achieving results through the committee. On the one hand, an international patrol of the land and sea frontiers of Spain went into effect on April 19. On the other hand, the Italian volunteers in Spain suffered a humiliating defeat at Guadalajara between March 13 and March 22. British commentators, official and unofficial, concluded that the civil war would end in a stalemate—"peace without victory," Eden phrased it. Liddell Hart, probably the most influential British commentator on military affairs, drew a conclusion from the Italian defeat which in some measure explains the tempered optimism of the British in 1937: "Defense is paramount."[5]

Such was the official British view of the world when Stanley Baldwin retired and Neville Chamberlain became Prime Minister on May 28, 1937. Promptly, he was confronted by a Nazi "Saturday surprise." On May 29, according to the Germans, Spanish Loyalist planes bombed the German warship *Deutschland*. On May 31, a German warship retaliated by bombarding Almeria. In addition, Germany and Italy withdrew from the naval patrol off the Spanish coast and from the Non-Intervention Committee in London; they would return only after obtaining sure guarantees against such attacks on their ships.

Representatives of the four powers which had taken part in the naval patrol—Britain, France, Italy, and Germany—immediately began the drafting of the required guarantees. Meanwhile, the Chamberlain Government secretly extended an invitation to Baron von

[5] New York *Times*, April 3, 1937. This analysis appeared, as an editorial, in the London *Times*, April 3.

Neurath, the German Foreign Minister, to visit London on June 23 and discuss matters of common interest, particularly the Spanish question. Neurath agreed to come, but only on condition that Germany had, before the visit, received the required guarantees against attacks on ships patrolling the coast of Spain. On June 12, guarantees satisfactory to the Germans were agreed upon by the four powers: the provision important for our story was that, in case of an attack on patrol ships, the four powers would consult each other; if they were unable to agree on a joint course of action, the attacked power would act independently of the others.

The impending visit of Neurath was announced on the evening of Tuesday, June 15. On Saturday there was another surprise. The Germans reported that on June 15 and June 18 Loyalist submarines had attempted to torpedo the German cruiser *Leipzig;* the ship had not been hit, but the torpedoes had been tracked by instrument. The four powers were asked to take immediate action against the Loyalists. At the consultation of the four powers, the British and French representatives insisted that the attack on the *Leipzig* must be investigated before joint action was taken against the Loyalists. Promptly, Neurath cancelled his visit to London, and both Germany and Italy withdrew their ships from the patrol of Spanish ports.

Momentarily, the British attitude on Spain stiffened. On June 23, in the House of Commons, Eden went so far as to intimate that the "presence of non-Spanish nationals in Spain" might lead to the collapse of the Non-Intervention Committee. The mood passed, however, and on July 8 Neville Chamberlain re-affirmed his faith in "personal contacts between influential statesmen" as a means of exploring the "deeper causes of unrest in Europe." He was, he said, confident that in time British rearmament would help to "convince the world of the wisdom of settling its differences by peaceful discussion instead of by the arbitrament of force."[6]

Patiently, the British worked to secure acceptance for a new approach to the Spanish problem: an international commission would be sent to Spain to arrange for the withdrawal of foreign "volunteers"; once these arrangements were completed, and substantial progress had been made in the withdrawal, both warring factions in Spain were to be granted belligerent status; then, with some limitations,

[6] Speech at Albert Hall, London *Times,* July 9.

each belligerent could stop the contraband sea-borne trade of the other. In the House of Commons on July 19 Eden warned that the new British plan stood or fell as a whole; if it fell, he saw no alternative except the break-down of the Non-Intervention Committee; and if the committee ceased to function Europe would "drift perilously nearer" to war. Britain, he said, had only one policy, willingness to co-operate with any other government "that is willing to work for peace." In particular, he stressed British eagerness to improve relations with Germany and Italy "and to seek to reach a Western agreement as a prelude to that wider settlement which must be our constant objective."

Again the response to the British proposal was encouraging. To be sure, discussion in the Non-Intervention Committee became snarled over what the British press called "procedural" questions, that is, whether the granting of belligerent status should precede or follow the withdrawal of volunteers. But on July 27 Chamberlain had a long conversation with the Italian ambassador, after which—without consulting the Foreign Secretary—Chamberlain sent a letter to Mussolini, affirming British desire to remove all misunderstandings. The Italian dictator sent an equally friendly reply. The upshot was an announcement that a discussion of all differences between Britain and Italy would begin in September.

By then, however, it had become evident that when the Axis powers withdrew from the patrol of Spanish ports they did not abandon their determination to prevent supplies from reaching the Loyalist ports. As early as June 26 a freighter was sunk off Alicante by an unidentified submarine. The attack and sinkings continued through July. In August merchant ships were attacked by planes and destroyers, as well as by submarines. Ou August 17 British warships were ordered to open fire if British merchant ships were attacked. The British chargé in Rome intimated "privately" that the disposition of many in Britain to connect Italy with the "piracy" in the Mediterranean might jeopardize the improvement in relations which both governments desired; Ciano suggested that it would be unfortunate if unfounded suspicion had such a serious result. A few days later the chargé informed Ciano that the British ambassador would not be able to return to Rome until the end of September, and that the Anglo-Italian negotiations could, therefore, not begin until then; the chargé again alluded to the belief of many in Britain that Italy was

responsible for the "piracy" in the Mediterranean, and Ciano again expressed his amazement at such baseless suspicions.

At last, on September 1 a British destroyer was attacked by a "pirate" submarine. This was the eighteenth attack on neutral shipping within a month, and it was almost the last. On September 2 the British cabinet decided to reinforce British naval strength in the western Mediterranean, and to accept a French proposal for a conference on "piracy." Invitations to the conference were issued on September 6; two days later, Italy and Germany declined the invitation, arguing that the proper place for such discussion was the Non-Intervention Committee. The New York Stock Exchange, fearing war, began a series of violent declines, which became more intense on news that the conference would be held despite the refusal of Germany and Italy to attend. The conference met at Nyon, a few miles from Geneva, on September 10 and adjourned a day later. In that short time, zones were mapped out within which unidentified submarines would be treated as outlaws; Britain and France were to police the zones; Italy might, if it wished, participate in the policing. By then firm action had already produced results: since September 1 there had been only one, unsuccessful, attack on neutral shipping. And thereafter "piracy" ceased to be a problem.

To Chamberlain, the success at Nyon, while necessary, was "dangerous" in that it made more difficult the improvement in Anglo-Italian relations upon which he was resolved. Negotiations were, therefore, opened for the inclusion of Italian ships in the anti-submarine patrol.[7] At Geneva on September 20 Eden emphatically repudiated the idea that the British people wanted war: "We believe war to be both wasteful and futile. We believe that it can confer no permanent benefit either on the nation that wins or on the nation that loses." When, on September 23, the Italian consul at Geneva, Bova Scopa, called on the French Foreign Minister, Delbos, and intimated that Italy was now ready to discuss the evacuation of "volunteers" from Spain, the British government concluded that a general settlement was possible, not only between Britain and Italy but between France and Italy. On October 2 Britain and France formally proposed a tripartite conference on the Spanish problem.

Ciano waited a week before he replied with a flat, curt refusal. In that week the Italian government officially announced that the garri-

[7] Keith Feiling, *Life of Neville Chamberlain* (London, 1946), p. 331.

son in Libya was being strengthened, and sent additional "volunteers" to Spain with little attempt at concealment. In face of this rebuff, Eden was stung into an angry speech denouncing "the proclaimed intervention, the glorification of the breaches of the [non-intervention] agreement."[8] Chamberlain, however, continued to reiterate his desire for a peaceful settlement: "I doubt whether our foreign policy was ever less aggressive than it is today. . . . It is not in the temperament of our people to bear malice, and I think we have the shortest memory for quarrels of any nation in the world."[9]

In his note declining a tripartite conference on the withdrawal of "volunteers" from Spain, Ciano had stated that the problem should be discussed in the Non-Intervention Committee. So back to the committee it went, and provided material for interminable and acrimonious debate during the remainder of the year. Chamberlain continued firm in his desire for an Anglo-Italian agreement, and he had no sympathy for the tendency of the British press, and even the British Foreign Secretary, to strike back at the frequent taunts of the Italians; but he realized that "personal contact between influential statesmen" could accomplish nothing until tempers cooled.

Meanwhile he explored once more the possibility of improving Anglo-German relations by such contacts. Through October the German press became increasingly hysterical in its demands for the return of the colonies taken from Germany after World War I, and in the denunciation of Czech "oppression" of the Sudeten Germans. More and more clearly the German press indicated that Britain was responsible for the continuation of these "injustices." The campaign set off a lively debate in the British press. In November, at a private meeting with Conservative members of Parliament, Chamberlain was reported to have said that Anglo-German relations were in too delicate a state for discussion even in such a meeting, but that something must be done to "find out what Germany really wants."[10]

On November 12 it was announced that a member of the cabinet, Lord Halifax, would make an "entirely private and unofficial" visit to a hunting exhibition in Berlin; while there, Hitler would see him. Commenting on the announcement, Chamberlain denied that such visits were a sign of weakness. Rather, the strength of Britain made

[8] Speech at Llandudno, New York *Times*, October 17, 1937.
[9] Speech at Manchester, London *Times*, October 15, 1937.
[10] New York *Times*, November 12, 1937.

it easier for British statesmen to appeal to others in "applying our common sense and common humanity" to international problems.[11] Halifax told the German ambassador that he hoped his visit would promote co-operation between the four western powers; an Anglo-German conflict "would mean the end of civilization."[12]

In his conversation with Hitler, Halifax did make a valiant effort to find out what Germany really wanted, but Hitler, while voluble and vehement, was vague alike on colonies, on the possibility of rejoining the League of Nations, and on the prospects for a general European settlement. Apparently Neurath and Göring were more precise and more encouraging. At any rate, Chamberlain thought the visit "a great success"[13] in that it had created "an atmosphere in which it is possible to discuss with Germany the practical questions involved in a European settlement." On colonies, on disarmament, on eastern Europe, and on the league, he thought the visit had established "a fair basis of discussion." Above all, he was convinced that the Germans had no intention of making war, at least for the present.[14]

Chamberlain's optimism about the prospects for peace and for a general European settlement were reflected in the British press, and in the communiqués issued during a visit of French ministers to London at the end of November.[15] To be sure, both the German press and the German ambassador in London repeatedly stated that Germany was not willing to make the return of colonies part of a general settlement, and was not willing to negotiate a general settlement by collective methods. Chamberlain was, apparently, not only unworried but unhurried. It would, he said, be some months before Britain would be in a position to begin discussion of the concrete bases for a settlement.[16] As the year ended, he was optimistic of the future; the international atmosphere was, he said, "more hopeful than any we have experienced in some considerable time."[17]

[11] New York *Times*, November 12, 1937.

[12] *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, Series D (Washington, 1949), I, 46-47.

[13] *Ibid.*, Series D, I, 55-67.

[14] Feiling, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-333.

[15] New York *Times*, November 30 and December 1, 1937.

[16] London *Times*, December 1, 1937. *D.G.F.P.*-D-I, 131-34.

[17] London *Times*, December 30, 1937.

Such, very sketchily, is the story of Chamberlain's dealings with Germany and Italy in 1937. Even from this hasty survey the guiding principles of his policy are obvious. First of all, he seems to have shared the conviction then generally held in the West that in modern war "defense is paramount," and that, for the country which intended to stand on the defensive, staying power—not initial striking power—was vital. Chamberlain was confident that Britain could, if attacked, defend herself, despite the rapid growth of German military strength. His chief concern was rather lest British rearmament impair British capability for sustained defense. This confidence in the defensive power of Britain, and of France, made it easier for him to accept the loss, not merely of prestige, but even of allies who could be protected only by offensive military action, such as the States of Central Europe.

Chamberlain was an optimist about the ability of Britain to defend herself if attacked. He was a black pessimist about war itself. Here again he was representative of his countrymen. The first world war, ran the argument, had undermined the foundations of the British Empire, and of western civilization. A second world war, fought with new and terrible weapons, would complete the ruin of both.

From this gloomy thesis, Chamberlain drew a most optimistic conclusion: if the reasonable demands of the "have-not" powers were satisfied, there would be no war. In his Guild Hall speech of November 9, 1937, he reviewed the disordered state of the world. He then moved on to the ideal toward which the British government was working, the ideal of a world in which all peoples could "live out their lives in peace of mind and in enjoyment of a constantly rising standard of all that makes life worth living, of health and comfort, of recreation and of culture." The world, he maintained, must move to peace and plenty, or to fear and want; every people craved the former, and he was confident that no government would, or could, go against the will of its people.[18] Here was a constant element of Chamberlain's thought: men were everywhere the same; everywhere, men wanted peace; therefore, by appeals to common sense and common humanity, by reminders of the suicidal nature of modern war, "a way can and will be found to free the world from the curse of armaments and the fears that give rise to them."[19]

Chamberlain had plenty of hostile critics, even in 1937. Most, however, were critical, not of his views on the aspirations common to all

[18] London *Times*, November 9, 1937. [19] *Ibid.*

men, or of his conviction that war was the worst of all evils and that armament was the parent of war, but of the methods by which he hoped to achieve those aspirations and exorcise the menace of war. The argument of the Labor Party opposition in the great debates on foreign policy in 1937 was not that Britain should, if necessary, risk a second world war to restrain the dictators, but that Britain could safely defy the dictators without fear of precipitating war. The dictators, Attlee said, "were not intending and were in no condition, to engage in war."[20] After all, it was only in the autumn of 1937 that the Labor Party ceased to oppose British rearmament. A few, like Winston Churchill, stood firm on the traditional basis of British policy: defense of the balance of power in Europe, if necessary by war. They were, in 1937, leaders without a following: balance of power and war were equally anathema. On June 30, 1937, in the House of Lords, Viscount Cecil suggested that the constant assertion, in Parliament and in the press, "that the only thing this country cared for was to be kept out of war" was dangerous because it encouraged "disorderly Powers to become more and more aggressive and to treat our remonstrances with scant respect." His warning had no effect; Lord Ponsonby dismissed it as "early Victorian bellicosity."

Yet Cecil was obviously correct. It is a useful experience to turn over the pages of Ciano's diary. In the spring of 1937 his entries show fear and discouragement. With each successful rebuff to British overtures his confidence rose. By the end of the year he was scribbling about the impending overthrow of the decadent British Empire by the virile forces of fascist Italy. Or turn to the records of the German Foreign Ministry. There you will find two illuminating analyses written on July 4, 1937, at a time when the British mood on Spain had stiffened. One, by Weizsäcker, proceeds from the premise that Germany did not wish the Spanish adventure to end in war, and argues that Germany should, therefore, effect a general agreement with Britain. The other, by Ribbentrop, proceeds from the premise that Britain wanted peace, and argues that Germany could, therefore, continue to defy Britain, not only in Spain but everywhere. Hitler accepted Ribbentrop's premise then, and later.[21] By the

[20] London *Times*, July 12, 1937.

[21] *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D (Washington, 1950), III, 391-395.

end of 1937 Hitler had decided to move to open aggression, and to remove those of his top advisers who feared Britain would fight. Steadily, through every crisis, Ribbentrop argued that Britain would not fight, and steadily Hitler held to his course of conquest. Finally, in September, 1939, when Britain did accept war, Hitler turned to Ribbentrop with the query, what now? For once Ribbentrop was silent.

Knowing the outcome, we can see that Chamberlain was mistaken in his confidence that all men were everywhere the same, that all men had the same ideals and wants, that all men knew war would engulf all in common ruin, and that war could, therefore, be averted by appeals to common sense and common humanity. Rather, his mistaken confidence helped to precipitate the catastrophe he was determined to avoid. May we, from our knowledge of the past, derive wisdom to guide us as we move into the future.

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MEDIAEVAL HUMANISM*

By

Martin R. P. McGuire

Definition had a central place in mediaeval discussion. At the outset, therefore, I shall attempt to define humanism, or rather the senses in which I propose to use the term, for it is now employed to describe various movements and attitudes which are in part diametrically opposed. It is especially necessary for me to define terms, because the combination of words in the title of my discussion involves something of a paradox. The early Humanists created the derogatory term, mediaeval, to designate the period from the close of antiquity to their own times as a dark and culturally inferior age. Accordingly, we would seem to be seeking evidences of a movement or attitude which was regarded by its own creators and exponents as the repudiation of all that they embodied in the concept mediaeval. I shall employ the term humanism without qualification ordinarily but not exclusively in its older sense, i.e., as the study of the classics of Greece and Rome and the impulse given by that study to the development of a comprehensive cultural ideal, of a basic philosophy of life. All recent forms of humanism have their ultimate foundation in the older concept or attitude. I shall regard modern humanism in general, to quote one of the standard definitions of the phenomenon, as "a system, mode, or attitude of thought or action centering upon distinctly human interests and ideals, especially as contrasted with naturalistic or religious interests."[1] Finally, I should like to disclaim any predilection for the term, mediaeval humanism. I much prefer to speak of Christian humanism, i.e., basically a theocentric

* This essay, with some minor changes, was presented as a paper at the joint session of the American Historical and American Catholic Historical Associations, in New York on December 30, 1951. The general theme of the joint session was mediaeval humanism and modern humanism, the main papers being delivered by Professor Crane Brinton of Harvard University and the writer of this essay. The nature and purpose of the session explains the rather broad and general character of the present article. Mr. McGuire is head of the Department of Greek and Latin in the Catholic University of America.

[1] This definition is taken from *Webster's New International Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "humanism," 3. Cf. also the discussion on the scope and nature of humanism in Gerald G. Walsh, S.J., *Medieval Humanism* (New York, 1942).

view of man and his world of thought and action, and to regard mediaeval humanism merely as one phase of Christian humanism. The term and concept, Christian humanism, focuses attention also on origins. Mediaeval humanism and Renaissance humanism, to say nothing of modern humanism, would hardly be conceivable unless Christianity, in spite of its bitter physical and spiritual conflicts with Greco-Roman paganism, had found an important place in its own system for pagan literature and learning long before the Middle Ages began.

Christianity inaugurated a revolution in the Greco-Roman world which was not confined to the spiritual sphere but ultimately affected all phases of life and action. From the beginning, especially from the commencement of its mission to the Gentiles, the new religion had to make ever closer contact with Greek and Greco-Roman culture. It is extremely important to remember that Christianity's sacred books were in Greek. The inherited Septuagint Version became its Greek Old Testament, and this served as the basis for all Latin translations of Old Testament books until the new version made from the Hebrew by St. Jerome. The New Testament, with the exception of the Gospel of St. Matthew in its earliest form, was written in Greek. St. Paul preached in Greek at Athens itself, and his conciliatory address to the philosophers in the Areopagus, pointing the way to a union of Greek culture with Christianity, may be regarded as a landmark in the rise of Christian humanism. St. Paul's address, however, received a cold reception from the group as a whole, and Christianity was destined to win adherents from the intellectual elite very slowly.

Hence, in reaction against the contemporary pagan morality and superstition, and smarting under the scornful attacks of pagan intellectuals and persecution by the State, some Christians like Tertullian and Tatian raised the cry, "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" They advocated a break with pagan culture, although even Tertullian himself grudgingly modified his own extreme views in the light of practical needs. But the majority of the ecclesiastical writers and fathers in the Greek East and Latin West accepted the pagan culture in a number of essential features, justifying their position on grounds of theory as well as of practical necessity. The story of the relations between Christianity and pagan literature, learning, and education has been told in greater or less detail in recent years, especially by

De Labriolle, Marrou, Courcelle, Ellspermann, and Laistner.[2] A few points, however, must be discussed here, as they have such a direct bearing on the rise of Christian humanism in Antiquity and on its continuance and development in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

The central question is this: how did Christianity justify in theory its employment and assimilation of pagan literature and learning? Origen and Clement of Alexandria had dealt with this problem, for they were really the first to make wide and systematic use of pagan cultural achievements in the service of the new faith. But the problem received its classic solution in St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Basil, and one which is cited again and again from their own times to the nineteenth century in the controversies over the place of the pagan classics in education. The following passage from St. Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*—and five centuries later it was incorporated without acknowledgment by Hrabanus Maurus into his *De institutione clericorum*—sums up the Christian position:

Furthermore, if those who are called philosophers, especially the Platonists, have said things by chance that are truthful and conformable to our faith, we must not only have no fear of them, but even appropriate them for our own use from those who are, in a sense, their illegal possessors. The Egyptians not only had idols and crushing burdens which the people of Israel detested and from which they fled, but they also had vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, and clothing, which the Israelites, leaving Egypt secretly, claimed for themselves as if for a better use. Not on their own authority did they make this appropriation, but by the command of God, while the Egyptians themselves, without realizing it, were supplying the things which they were not using properly. In the same way, all the teachings of the pagans have counterfeit and superstitious notions and oppressive burdens of useless labor, which anyone

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[2] Cf. P. DeLabriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, revised by G. Bardy, 2 vols. (Paris, 1946), I, 1-43; H. I. Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, and *Retractatio* (Paris, 1939-1949); P. Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore*, new ed., revised (Paris, 1948); G. L. Ellspermann, O.S.B., *The Attitude of the Early Christian Latin Writers toward Pagan Literature and Learning* [Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. LXXXII] (Washington, 1949); M. L. W. Laistner, *Christianity and Pagan Culture in the Later Roman Empire* (Ithaca, 1951). Cf. now also E. A. Quain, S.J., "St. Jerome as a Humanist," in *A Monument to Saint Jerome*, edited by F. X. Murphy, C.SS.R. (New York, 1952), pp. 203-232.

of us, leaving the association of pagans with Christ as our leader, ought to abominate and shun. However, they also contain liberal instruction more adapted to the service of truth and also very useful principles about morals; even some truths about the service of the one God Himself are discovered among them. These are, in a sense, their gold and silver. They themselves did not create them, but excavated them, as it were, from the mines of divine Providence, which is everywhere present, but they wickedly and unjustly misuse this treasure for the service of demons. When the Christian severs himself in spirit from the wretched association of these men, he ought to take it from them for the lawful service of preaching the Gospel. It is also right for us to receive and possess their clothing in order to convert it to a Christian use, i.e., those human institutions suited for intercourse with men and which we cannot do without in this life.

For, what else have many noble and loyal members of our faith done? Do we not perceive with what an abundance of gold, silver and clothing that very eloquent teacher and blessed martyr, Cyprian, was loaded when he left Egypt? With what an abundance Lactantius was enriched, and Victorinus, Optatus, Hilary, and innumerable Greeks, not to speak of men who are still living? That most obedient servant of God, Moses himself, was the first to do this, and it was written of him that he "was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." The superstitious pagans, especially at that time when, striking at the yoke of Christ, they were persecuting the Christians, would never have bestowed upon all these men sciences which they themselves considered profitable, if they had supposed that they were going to convert them to the worship of the one God, in order that the false worship of idols might be rooted out. But they gave their gold, silver, and garments to the people of God who were leaving Egypt, not knowing how the things which they were giving would yield to "the obedience of Christ." What happened in the Exodus is undoubtedly a figure that signified the present. I assert this without prejudice to another interpretation, either equal or better.[3]

All that is considered good in pagan education, literature, philosophy, medicine, and other branches of learning, then, is to be traced ultimately to divine Providence. This good is to be separated from the false and to be appropriated by Christians as rightful pos-

[3] St. Augustine, *De doctrina christiana,* 2.40.60. With minor changes, I have employed the recent translation of John J. Gavigan, O.S.A., in *Writings of St. Augustine* [Volume 4, The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation] (New York, 1947), pp. 112-114. For the use of this passage in Hrabanus Maurus, cf. his *De institutione clericorum,* 3.26 (Migne, *PL,* 107, cols. 404A-405A).

sessors or heirs to the service of Christian truth. The example of Moses—and that of Daniel is frequently added—gives scriptural support to the attitude described. The Christian view of pagan learning as a rightful inheritance was based also on the widespread belief among the Hellenistic Jews, and one which later became a commonplace in Christian apologetic, that the more significant teachings of Plato and other Greek philosophers on the virtues, e.g., were borrowed from the Bible itself! It should be noted too that St. Augustine elsewhere in his works, especially in the *De civitate Dei*, adopts a similar attitude toward pagan social and political institutions.

The most important practical application of the Christian theory was, of course, in the field of education. Although the schools of rhetoric were thoroughly pagan in spirit and in the content of their curriculum, and remained so pretty much for that matter to the end of Antiquity, they were attended by Christians even in the fourth and fifth centuries when an ever increasing number of students came from Christian homes. The dangers of such a pagan environment to Christian youth explain the constant warnings and criticisms respecting the pagan schools found throughout ancient Greek and Latin Christian literature. But the training received in these schools also did much to acquaint Christian writers with the intellectual achievements of pagan culture and to form their literary style in the best traditions of their age.

Growing out of the vigorous seed planted by Clement and Origen, Christian humanism burst into full flower in the fourth and fifth centuries, the golden age of patristic literature in East and West. Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, Rufinus, Paulinus of Nola, Prudentius, and Augustine of Hippo towering over all the rest, were older or younger contemporaries. Their voluminous works are largely theological, or at least deal with religious themes, but they reveal an intimate acquaintance with and a wide employment of pagan literature and learning from the classical periods of Greece and Rome to their own times. Furthermore, thoroughly trained as they were in the pagan rhetorical schools, all, with the possible exception of Rufinus, were masters of style. They really loved the great works of classical literature and they adapted numerous pagan literary genres to Christian use. We still sometimes fail to realize—although this was fully appreciated by Erasmus and other eminent humanists

of the Renaissance—that many of the works of the great fathers of the Church are as distinguished for their style as for their content, and belong to the masterpieces of literature as well as of theology. The *De civitate Dei* and the *Confessions* of Augustine, the Letters of Jerome, and, above all, the Latin Vulgate, have a high place in any list of the world's literary classics. St. Hilary gives us the essence of this Christian humanism in the beautiful prayer found in his *De trinitate:* "Grant us precision in language, light of understanding, grace of style, and loyalty to truth" (1.38).

The Christian assimilation of pagan cultural elements was not confined to rhetoric and literature, but also embraced philosophy. The Stoic ethics of Cicero and Seneca are given a Christianized form in the *De officiis* of St. Ambrose, and most of the great fathers of the Church are Christian Platonists or Christian Neoplatonists. Gregory of Nyssa's dialogue *De anima* is a classic example of patristic Platonism. Gregory Nazianzen and his contemporaries reflect the assimilation of Greek philosophy and its ideals by their use of the verb *philosophein* in the sense of "live according to the Christian ideal," and the noun *philosophia* in the sense of "Christian contemplation and its practice." The fusion of pagan and Christian thought in Antiquity culminates in Boethius and Pseudo-Dionysius.

The importance of patristic humanism in the history of humanism can hardly be exaggerated. Through the greatness and authority of its representatives and their works it set a basic pattern for the future. Moreover, through its theocentric character, and its emphasis on literature and learning in the service of religion, it furnished the strongest stimulation and need for its own preservation and continued development. It must also be emphasized that patristic humanism coincided with—or perhaps better—constituted the most significant phase in the revival of Greek and Roman literature and scholarship in the fourth and fifth centuries. Werner Jaeger has well said: "There are still people who do not realize that what we had in both hemispheres of the late Roman empire at that time was one of the most creative civilizations which history has ever seen. The synthesis of Christian religion and classical Greek and Roman culture which it effected became classical in its turn for the following centuries of the Middle Ages, and for countless millions of people it still is."[4]

[4] Cf. Werner Jaeger, *Humanism and Theology* [The Aquinas Lecture, Marquette University] (Milwaukee, 1943), p. 24.

The subsequent history of this synthesis in Byzantium must be omitted here. However, it should be noted that the Byzantine renaissance of the ninth century, the age of Photius, played the same important role as the Carolingian Renaissance in the preservation and study of ancient authors, pagan and Christian, and thus laid the foundations for the Greek learning of the later Middle Ages and for the possibility of its transmission to the West.

From the beginning of the Middle Ages in the West, the synthesis was already long completed. In fact, it had become a tradition, as is so clearly evident in Cassiodorus and Isidore. That the tradition did not die, or at least suffer far greater damages than it did, in the sixth, seventh, and early eighth centuries, is largely to be explained by the fact that the Church in the West, having once adopted Latin as the language of her liturgy, theology, and ecclesiastical administration, persisted in maintaining it. Hence, in spite of all obstacles, Latin had to be taught and studied with primarily practical ends in mind. Owing to the strong authority of the Western Church and to the circumstance that she was the sole source and vehicle of higher culture for so long in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Ireland, and Britain, as later in Germany, Bohemia, Scandinavia, and Poland, all these regions, while developing many local variations in liturgy, especially in the earlier period, used Latin as their ecclesiastical language. The possible rise of a liturgy in Gothic or Old High German vanished with the triumph of orthodoxy over Arianism. Under the influence of the patristic synthesis the pagan as well as the Christian classics found, sooner or later, a place in the curriculum of the monastic and cathedral schools. The peoples outside Romania, beginning with the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons, adopted the early mediaeval school curriculum with special enthusiasm. Moreover, they approached the pagan classics without too many of the inhibitions which troubled the minds of those in the direct Latin tradition.

Mediaeval humanism, then, is based on the patristic tradition, but that does not mean that it is absolutely uniform in scope, emphases, or intensity. The numerous recent articles and books dealing with renaissances in the Middle Ages—one among them quite newly discovered[5]—are very valuable in that, while recognizing a basic simi-

[5] Cf. R. S. Lopez, "Still Another Renaissance?" *American Historical Review*, LVII (1951), 1-21. On the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century and related problems, cf., e.g., the two following studies and the bibli-

larity or even identity in outlook, they focus necessary attention on the comprehensive and complex character of the movement in its totality and pervasive influence, on its different phases, and on the common and special features of each phase considered in itself. A number of recent articles and books on the Italian Renaissance have likewise contributed to a much better understanding not only of that complex movement but also to a better understanding of mediaeval culture as a whole and of its continued life and influence, in many important respects, during the period of the Renaissance and after.[6]

It would not be possible here, nor is it necessary, to trace in detail the development of mediaeval humanism, whether that movement be regarded in the narrower or broader sense of the term. But a few general observations will be in order before passing to a consideration of the harmony between faith and reason which was finally established in the thirteenth century against the background of patristic and earlier mediaeval traditions and of Aristotelian philosophy.

The story of the preservation of the classics in the Middle Ages and of the extent to which they were copied, read, or neglected century by century is now well known in its main outlines and to an increasing degree in detail. The school tradition of which they formed such an essential part beside Christian works is also becoming much better known, and especially in those periods which, like the tenth century, were once regarded as wholly dark. In spite of the pardonable pride reflected in the enthusiastic words of the Chronicler of St. Gall in which he states that Alcuin's "teaching was so fruitful that the Gauls and Franks of our time *(moderni)* have become the peers of the ancient Romans and Athenians,"[7] the school curriculum of the Carolingians was largely confined in practice to gram-

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ography cited: E. M. Sanford, "The Twelfth Century—Renaissance or Proto-Renaissance," *Speculum,* XXIV (1951), 635-642, and U. T. Holmes, Jr., "The Idea of a Twelfth-Century Renaissance," *ibid.,* 643-651.

[6] I should like in particular to call attention to the outstanding study of P. O. Kristeller, "Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance," *Byzantion,* XVII (1944-1945), 346-374, republished with revisions under the title "Umanesimo e scolastica nel Renascimento italiano," *Humanitas,* V (1950).

[7] The Latin reads: In tantum fructificavit ut moderni Galli sive Franci antiquis Romanis et Atheniensibus aequarentur. Cf. *MGH, SS,* II, 731. The passage is cited and discussed in the penetrating essay by E. Gibson, "Humanisme médiéval," in *Les idées et les lettres* (Paris, 1932), pp. 171-196.

mar and a thin and superficial rhetoric. Dialectic and the subjects of the *quadrivium* only came fully into their own in the tenth and eleventh centuries, with Gerbert of Aurillac, and with the struggle over investitures. The political, social, economic, and intellectual world of Alcuin was relatively primitive as compared with that of John of Salisbury in the twelfth century with its fully developed feudal system encompassing Church and State, its town life, its guilds, its fruitful contacts with Islamic learning, its revival of Roman law, and its rising universities.[8]

Building on the work of the Carolingians, the schools of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, especially the cathedral schools, forged Latin into a wonderfully flexible instrument of literary and philosophical expression in which classical, Christian, and mediaeval elements were freely blended. St. Anselm of Canterbury, St. Peter Damian, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, John of Salisbury, and Otto of Freising wrote Latin not only with clearness and correctness, but also with the force and warmth of style which is associated with mastery of a living language and all its potentialities. But it is in poetry that mediaeval Latin reached its zenith in literary form: in men like Hildebert of Lavardin, a Christian humanist in the spirit of the Renaissance, in the chief Goliards, and in the great religious poets and their achievements, beginning with the sequences of Adam of St. Victor and culminating in the *Pange Lingua* of St. Thomas Aquinas, the *Stabat Mater* of Jacopone da Todi, and the *Dies Irae* of Thomas of Celano.

The production of a great universal literature in Latin was accompanied, furthermore, by a related development—from the earlier Middle Ages in the Celtic and Germanic North and from the eleventh century in the Romance lands—of a great literature in the vernacular. The emphasis on Latin in church and school perhaps retarded a more rapid development of the vernacular literatures, particularly in the Romance lands. But these literatures only received written form through the Latin school tradition, and vernacular writers profited enormously through the literary forms and rich content of ancient pagan and Christian literature made available to them. The Latin inheritance from Antiquity and the whole literary and scholarly production of the mediaeval period itself in Latin, the common universal language, became the common heritage of the great vernacular litera-

[8] Cf., e.g., the recent monograph of H. Liebeschütz, *Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury* (London, 1950).

tures of Europe and gave them the common tradition and basic relationship which is such a vital and significant factor in the subsequent history of western civilization.

The almost overwhelming impact of Aristotle and his Islamic and Jewish commentators on the universities in the thirteenth century is still generally presented as the chief cause for the decline of mediaeval humanism on the Latin literary side. But the causes for this decline were really much deeper and were already operating in the twelfth century itself, the golden age of mediaeval Latin literature. Preoccupation with Aristotle in the universities, to the subordination of the arts and their cultivation, and the adoption of a bald scientific style of Latin exposition, undoubtedly hastened the eclipse of Latin as a vital medium of literary or creative composition. Yet it should be remembered that the rapid development, in the twelfth century, of the *ars dictaminis,* the *ars praedicandi,* and the *ars versificatoria,* combined with a heavy emphasis on logical theory and practice, prepared the way for the neglect of the *auctores* in the thirteenth. Moreover, in spite of its great flexibility and rich resources of expression when thoroughly mastered, mediaeval Latin still remained a foreign tongue, and it was inevitable that the vernaculars would assert themselves as literary media, especially with the ever increasing participation of the laity in education and literary composition. The Latin school tradition, as indicated above, furnished a most effective apprenticeship for vernacular writers and actually hastened the process of their training and emancipation. Secular Latin poetry was in full decline before the end of the twelfth century. As Raby puts it: "The truth is that Latin secular poetry had no longer any real excuse for existing. The lyrical part of it was fed, on the whole, from vernacular sources, and both in execution and in range of expression, the vernacular had now an unchallenged superiority."[9] Religious Latin poetry, it is true, flourished during most of the thirteenth century, but it is significant that no really great Latin hymns were written after the *Pange Lingua, Dies Irae,* and *Stabat Mater.* John of Garland, the contemporary of St. Thomas Aquinas, and vehement champion of the arts, bemoans the neglect of classical authors. But his highly artificial style, his deliberate obscurity, and his constant parade

[9] Cf. F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1934), II, 341.

of pedantry, all indicate a marked decline from the representatives of the arts a century earlier.

It is not too surprising, under the circumstances, that Dante, who was intimately familiar with the Latin tradition and learning of the schools, possessed a good knowledge of the *auctores,* and was a master of Latin style, as his Latin treatises and letters bear witness, should decide to compose his literary works, above all, the *Divine Comedy,* in his Florentine vernacular, and that, thus, the greatest, most mature, and most characteristic literary achievement of the Christian humanism of the Middle Ages should be a poem written, not in Latin, but in Italian. Dante's judgment was sounder and his choice of language happier than that of his younger contemporary Petrarch, who was confident that his Latin epic *Africa* would be his chief claim to lasting glory.

The *Divine Comedy,* however, should not be too exclusively viewed as a product of mediaeval humanism on the literary side. On the contrary, it is more typically mediaeval in its emphasis on philosophical and theological problems, on reason and Revelation, on man and human nature not merely in themselves but in relation to God their Creator and Preserver. Moderns in general prefer the *Inferno* to the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso,* but for Dante the *Paradiso* was by far the most significant part of his poem. We must consider finally, therefore, the all-important question already mentioned earlier, namely, the role of philosophy and theology in mediaeval humanism.

The assimilation of late Hellenic philosophy and its utilization in the elaboration of Christian theology is, as we have already noted, one of the most important and influential features of patristic humanism. It should be emphasized that by far the most important school of late Hellenic philosophy was Neoplatonism, a theocentric system of thought essentially religious in character. The Christian Platonism or rather Neoplatonism of the fathers of the Church, especially as represented and developed by the greatest of Latin thinkers, St. Augustine of Hippo, combined with the Aristotelianism of Boethius, constituted the foundation of mediaeval thought. The Augustinian influence was preponderant, and thought long remained primarily theological.

With Abelard and Hugh of St. Victor, we enter a new age in mediaeval thought. Abelard applied his powerful dialectic to theology, and, in spite of his condemnation on the charge of holding

extreme views, dialectic henceforth was to play an important and fruitful role in theological speculation and systematization. Hugh of St. Victor, under the influence of Aristotle through Boethius and through the Aristotelian works becoming available in his own time, attempted in his *Didascalicon* to give a comprehensive classification of all branches of knowledge, their objects, and relationships. The essence of his Christian humanism is contained in statements like the following: "The highest consolation in life, therefore, is the pursuit of wisdom, and he who finds it is happy and he who possesses it is blest" (1.1); "The perfection of human life is accomplished by two things, knowledge and virtue, and in this perfection is contained our sole likeness to the heavenly and divine substances" (1.5); "Therefore never consider any knowledge worthless, for all knowledge is good" (3.13); "Learn everything; you will see later that nothing is superfluous" (6.3).[10] By insisting on the sharp distinction between knowledge based on experience and knowledge based on faith, yet fully recognizing the necessity of faith, he contributed very much to the development of natural theology.

The translations of many works of Aristotle, and especially that of the *Metaphysics,* hitherto unknown to the Latin West, opened up a new intellectual world, and all but overwhelmed the traditional mediaeval thought in the last part of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The older translations from the Arabic with their many distortions of Aristotelian thought and the pantheistic tendencies of the Islamic commentators only helped to intensify the crisis. Under the

[10] The Latin original reads: Summum igitur in vita solamen est studium sapientiae, quam qui invenit felix est, et qui possidet beatus (1.1); Integritas vitae humanae duobus perficitur, scientia et virtute, quae nobis cum supernis et divinis substantiis similitudo sola est (1.5); Nullam denique scientiam vilem teneas, quia omnis scientia bona est (3.13); Omnia disce, videbis postea nihil esse superfluum (6.3). For the Latin text, cf. *Hugonis de Sancto Victore Didascalicon de studio legendi,* edited by Brother Charles Henry Buttimer, F.S.C. [The Catholic University of America Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin, Volume X] (Washington, 1939). E. R. Curtius, in his *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, 1948), pp. 475-476, recognizes the importance of Hugh of St. Victor as a systematizer of knowledge, but he classifies him among the anti-humanists because of his attitude towards literature. Such a judgment is made according to the norms of traditional classical humanism. From the viewpoint of philosophical and theological humanism, however, Hugh of St. Victor should really be regarded as one of the great pioneers in Christian humanism.

circumstances, the ecclesiastical censures affecting Aristotelian works in 1210 and 1231 are understandable. But the cloud over Aristotle soon lifted.

It was the great achievement of St. Albertus Magnus and, especially, of St. Thomas Aquinas, to perceive the tremendous worth and potentialities of the new Aristotle, to interpret him more accurately and critically through the use of new translations made directly from the Greek, and on the basis of the knowledge and vision thus acquired to create a magnificent synthesis of Christian thought in which theology itself was enriched and systematized, and philosophy proper was given its own place of honor and its own autonomy. In this elaboration of philosophy, natural theology, the science of God based on reason as distinct from Revelation, has a central place and gives ultimate meaning to man and his role in the universe. In making man theocentric on the basis of the evidence furnished by natural reason alone, while at the same time fully recognizing man's own nature and its potentialities, St. Thomas, as Jaeger acutely demonstrates in his *Humanism and Theology,* is in the best tradition of Greek theological humanism, that of Plato and Aristotle, as distinct from the anthropomorphic humanism of the ancient Sophists and their successors.[11] The synthesis of St. Thomas gives full recognition to both philosophy and theology. Their spheres of thought are clearly established, and their harmony is at once the most characteristic and crowning achievement of the Thomistic synthesis.

Modern Christian humanism is simply a later phase of the same basic outlook contained in the Thomistic synthesis. It is intensely devoted to the cultivation of all the higher aspirations of man, it recognizes and defends the sacredness and dignity of human personality, and it insists on absolute moral and intellectual values in the natural order. At the same time, it is theocentric in its outlook, it regards man and his role in the universe not merely in relation to his fellows alone, but evaluates man, his nature, potentialities, and achievements, in relation to a personal God and His divine dispensation.

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[11] Cf. Jaeger, *op. cit.* (note 4, *supra*), pp. 36-64.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Saint Benedict and His Times. By Ildephonse Cardinal Schuster, O.S.B. Translated by Gregory J. Roettger, O.S.B. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1951. Pp. ix, 396. $6.00.)

Father Roettger has been kind enough to inform this reviewer that the present translation is done upon a second edition of Schuster's *La storia di san Benedetto e dei suoi tempi* which appeared at Milan in 1946. Currently there is a third edition of the same work which has served Dom Gai for his French version of 1950 (cf. *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France,* XXXVII [1951], 57), so that specialists still will have to have recourse to the later form for possible modifications in the author's judgments.

For others, however, Father Roettger's text proves highly serviceable. He has given us in idiomatic English what is probably the most scholarly of all the biographies of the patriarch of western monasticism. For Cardinal Schuster has steeped himself in the century and the spirit of the saint. Basically, his study forms a rich archeological and historical commentary upon Book II of Pope Gregory the Great's *Dialogues,* which is commonly regarded as our earliest account of Benedict. The cardinal's comments are regularly penetrating, though his literal acceptance of Pope Gregory's views on direct diabolical interventions (pp. 62, 69, 101) may properly cause surprise. If the thirty-three couplets of the poet Mark, assigned by Schuster to the sixth century (p. 113), are actually some 200 years younger, they will have far less authority than he is inclined to attribute to them.

As far as this reviewer remembers, many of the cardinal's interpretations have been put forward earlier in his *Note storiche su la regula monachorum* (Turin, 1940), although they may well be new to those who have not had access to the Italian. Schuster's dating of Benedict's birth "about 470" (p. 23) is ten years in advance of the more common view; he does, however, stand in agreement with much recent scholarship in assigning the saint's death to March, 547 (p. 361). His conviction that the patriarch was a priest (pp. 126, 142) is not shared by Philibert Schmitz in his *Histoire de l'ordre de saint Benoît* (Maredsous, 1942), I, 14 n. And just as this reviewer finds little evidence for the cardinal's assertion that the Benedictine rule "was spreading like wildfire" in the France of the late sixth and early seventh century (p. 87), so many will find unconvincing his contention that the rule was promulgated as

the official code of the Holy See for the monasteries of Italy and the West and that Benedict himself functioned as a papal delegate in evangelizing the territory round about Cassino (pp. 124, 125). The visit of King Totila to Cassino, here placed in 542 (p. 308), is more probably to be assigned to the latter part of 546 (cf. A. Mundó: "Sur la date de la visite de Totila à saint Benoît," *Revue bénédictine,* LIX [1949], 203-206).

But, surely, no one will contest the cardinal's right to his views when they are buttressed as they are by so ample an erudition.

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Martini episcopi Bracarensis opera omnia. By Claude W. Barlow. [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome. Volume XII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. Pp. xii, 328. $3.50.)

St. Martin of Braga, a sixth-century abbot, was responsible for the conversion of Chararich, an Arian king of the Sueves, a people who controlled northwestern Spain at that time. Their capital, Braga, became the scene of Martin's labors as archbishop sometime before 572. Martin, like his more illustrious namesake of Tours, came from Pannonia. eastern monastic precepts influenced him as abbot at Dumium, probably as a result of his own early training; canons drawn from eastern church councils were incorporated into those of the two councils held at Braga under his direction. He knew Greek well and some of his translations from Greek to Latin are extant.

The *corpus* of Martin's works is small, but before Barlow's edition, it was edited in an incomplete form only in Flórez' *España sagrada,* published in 1759. Barlow has made at first hand an exhaustive study of all the known manuscripts except those in Spain which were available to him only in photographs. He considers it possible that other important sources exist in uncatalogued manuscript collections in Spain and Portugal. He has edited with extraordinary care the nine short treatises on moral and ascetic topics, the collections of canons of the councils held at Braga, Martin's special collection of eighty-four canons drawn from eastern councils, and the three short poems which comprise Martin's extant literary works.

In three moral treatises exhorting to humility Barlow has discovered the hitherto unrecognized influence of John Cassian on Martin. Twenty-six out of a total of thirty-six sub-headings are common to both authors. Another moral treatise is a consideration of the vice of anger so closely

modeled on Seneca's treatise *De ira* that it may be described as an epitome of the latter's work. The relationship between the two texts can be traced through the critical apparatus. Martin's *Formula vitae honestae,* attributed through the mediaeval period to Seneca, is probably also an epitome of the classical author's lost work on the four virtues. A sermon, *De correctione rusticorum,* is an important source for our knowledge of pagan practices surviving among poorly instructed Christians. It is written in a simpler style because Martin abandoned the literary affectations which would have had no effect on his audience. A good edition of this treatise was made by Caspari in 1882, but Barlow's discovery of two previously unused complete texts and of two partial texts seemed to justify a new edition.

The introduction to each treatise brings together the history of the manuscripts and printed editions in complete detail. It is hard to understand why the footnotes to the introductions were placed at the end. The critical apparatus would have been simplified by considering in the general introduction the problem of orthography rather than by such detailed citations of unimportant variants. But these are minor criticisms of a work which is a valuable contribution to a deeper knowledge of an important and little known figure in early mediaeval ecclesiastical history.

SISTER CONSUELO MARIA AHERNE

Chestnut Hill College

The Early English Friars Preachers. By William A. Hinnebusch, O.P. (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano. 1951. Pp. xi, 519. On sale at Providence College Bookstore, Providence 8, Rhode Island, $6.00, bound; $5.00, unbound.)

Rarely can a religious historian have covered his selected field as amply and as adequately as Father Hinnebusch. The present volume is a model of patient and accurate scholarship, and no future writer will ever find it necessary to go over the whole ground again; the book will take its place as the *locus classicus* for early Dominican history in England. If at the same time it may, perhaps, be said that competent mediaevalists will need to revise only a few of their ideas after reading the work, that is merely to say that the main lines of the picture were well drawn in the past, and that it has been left to Father Hinnebusch to complete every inch of the canvas, which he does in 500 pages of close type without giving any impression of iteration or of pedantry.

The first arrival of the friars in England and the foundation of the priories; the architectural remains of church and cloister; the daily life, economy, and personnel of the house; the preaching, learning, and public

activities of the friars—all are dealt with fully and faithfully. No doubt earlier historians had prepared much of the ground. Father Palmer, O.P., did a vast pioneer work among the public records sixty years ago; the late A. G. Little, in a lifetime's study of the mendicant orders, could not fail to throw some light on the Preachers; in recent years Father Callus, O.P., and Miss B. Smalley have studied the Oxford doctors; and the early Dominicans have formed the subject of two or three exceptionally able unpublished doctoral theses. Father Hinnebusch, however, has done far more than weave together half a dozen existing strands. He has swept an ocean into his net; he has sifted mountains for his ore. His chapters on the architectural remains of the priories, e.g., are not only a monument of antiquarian research, but give for the first time, by aid of plan and illustration, material for the synthesis which is duly made. Similarly, from a formidable mass of periodical and foreign literature he has extracted for the first time something like a complete account of the early Dominican school at Oxford. This section is, perhaps, the most original part of the book, and vindicates the author's claim that Dominicans at Oxford have been unduly depreciated to the advantage of the Franciscans. Scarcely less impressive are the chapters on the Dominican activities in public life. Though long familiar in main outline, these attain through the impact of innumerable details to an impression of remarkable force. The Dominicans, indeed, though neglected by the writers of historical textbooks, may well have been as influential in courts and councils as the Jesuits of the Counter Reformation.

Some additional points of interest may be noted: the rejected London visit of St. Thomas (p. 31 note); the special type of church evolved by the English mendicants (p. 140); the "studies" with beds, in addition to the common dormitory (p. 160); the pride of place given to compline in the Dominican *horarium* (p. 220); and the clear distinction between the various kinds of preacher among the friars (pp. 296-297). Omissions and slips are exceedingly few: possibly a section on the surviving books from the Dominican libraries might have been included; and in the valuable list of priories a second and earlier (1283) date can be given for Jarrow from *Hist. Comm. Rev.*, iv, 444.

Father Hinnebusch's treatment of writers whom he supplements or corrects is uniformly fair and courteous and, while retaining throughout his *esprit de corps,* he never suppresses unwelcome facts. A word should also be said of the faultless excellence of the printing achieved in a long and technical English book by a press in Vatican City.

Space does not permit of a more general review, but one remark may be allowed. In the 500 pages there is scarcely a paragraph or incident suggesting or revealing sanctity among the English friars. Yet this was the century of St. Thomas, St. Albert, St. Raymond, St. Peter Martyr,

and a host of *beati* and *beatae*. In England itself three bishops were canonized, another is *beatus*, and several further causes were introduced. Yet no English Preacher (and, for that matter, no English Minor) attracted attention as notably holy of life. It is not for the historian to explain or to comment upon this, but he may be excused, while making all allowance for the lives that are hid with Christ in God, for noting it and musing upon it.

DAVID KNOWLES

University of Cambridge

Saint Thomas Aquinas. A Biographical Study. By Angelus Walz, O.P. English translated by Sebastian Bullough, O.P. (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 254. $3.50.)

The present volume is a revised and augmented edition of the author's classical outline, *Delineatio vitae S. Thomae de Aquino*, published in the *Angelicum* in 1926. The book has a different approach from those of Mandonnet, Grabmann, Chenu, etc. In a rather popular way the author insists on the doctrinal and ascetical background of St. Thomas' scholastic and religious career. Father Walz presents quite a concise synthesis of all the significant and some of the insignificant work that has been done to date on St. Thomas. The entire book—with the exception of the last three chapters, "The Holy Doctor," "Aquinas' Writings," and "The Church's Honor"—is a chronological treatment of the principal events in the life of St. Thomas. Within this arrangement the author discusses the different influential factors which entered into the formation of his character, such as the miracles performed, his dominant personality traits, and his works. Father Walz faithfully covers the family background, religious training, social relationships, political conditions of the age, and even the geography of various parts of Europe where the saint lived at different times.

One of the most interesting chapters is on St. Thomas' teaching career in Paris. However, his role as "cursor" or "biblicus" bachelor (1252-1254) and "sentenciarius" is not clearly distinguished (pp. 65-68). Chenu's outstanding publication, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Montréal-Paris, 1950), pp. 229-230, is a better guide on this point. In 1256 at the end of the spring semester St. Thomas held his inaugural lecture; in 1257 he was admitted to the *consortium* of the Parisian masters.

Speaking of the personal relations of the *doctor communis*, a title given in the fourteenth century, it is questionable that he met Vincent of Beauvais in the "intern" school of St. Jacques (p. 77). Around 1246 the great encyclopedist was in Royaumont. Furthermore, Vincent of Beauvais was not the "tutor" of Prince Louis of France; he only wrote

a pedagogical treatise for the children of Louis IX entitled *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, which was issued in a critical edition by A. Steiner (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1938). [Cf. B. L. Ullman, "A Project for a New Edition of Vincent of Beauvais," *Speculum* VIII (1933), 312.]

Concerning the representation of St. Thomas in Christian art (p. 188), the author might have mentioned the rich miniature illustrations such as those in Florence (Mus. San Marco, Antiphonary fol. 1r. St. Thomas right hand raised, book in left hand, seated on throne, flanked by two kneeling Dominican nuns; in Madrid [Bibl. Nacional 8978, *Sum. theol.* Teaching]; and in Rome, Bibl. Vat. Ross. VIII. 206, *Sum. theol.* fol. 4r; Tarragona, Bibl. Prov. 143, *De virt. fidei.* Miniatures mostly from the fourteenth century). The translator had added references to English translations of books referred to. It might have been a good idea to mention the recent publications since the appearance of the Italian original in 1945, e.g., Chenu's introduction and Kibre's work on *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1948). Father Walz's book makes fruitful reading for the general public.

A. L. GABRIEL

University of Notre Dame

William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow. By John Durkan. [Published for the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee.] (Glasgow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1951. Pp. 70. 7/6.)

This study is the first extended biography of Bishop Turnbull (1447-1454), founder of the University of Glasgow. It depicts clearly the role and vision of the statesman-bishop in the political, ecclesiastical, and intellectual currents of the reigns of James I and James II of Scotland. Glasgow, established in 1451, was the second of Scotland's three late mediaeval universities, the others being St. Andrews (1413) and Aberdeen (1494). Their foundation reflects the two-fold need of the time—to expand the opportunities for learning and to train the clergy according to the mind of Rome.

Although it is not easy to reconstruct the career of William Turnbull in great detail, the author has been very successful. Born about 1400 of noble parents, Turnbull took his bachelor of arts degree in 1418 at St. Andrews, became a cleric, graduated master of arts in 1420, became dean of the faculty in 1430, and in the following year went off to Louvain to study canon law, earning a bachelor's degree in canon law about 1433. At this point he became a capable pro-papal intermediary in Scottish negotiations with Rome concerning the Council of Basle, being made papal chamberlain and royal proctor at the Roman Curia. He also studied

at Pavia and received the doctorate in canon law there in 1439. Perhaps, during this last decade he saw, like his friend, James Kennedy, how education could help Scotland to attain that unity and reform so endangered in politics and religion.

Back in Scotland where anarchy wasted the land, Turnbull was introduced into the royal council and also became king's secretary in 1441. As the able assistant of Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews and the trusted agent of the Pope, he became more influential and was chosen Bishop-elect of Dunkeld in 1447 and then Bishop-elect of Glasgow before the year was out.

He continued to contribute of his power toward the pacification of Scotland and finally laid his plans for the founding of a university. The bull of confirmation was issued by Pope Nicholas V on January 7, 1451, and Turnbull had more than the good will of James II. Education of nobility and clergy alike, or reformation through law and orthodoxy, were cardinal objectives. The men who drew up the statutes of the university profited from the experience of St. Andrews, Paris, Louvain, and Cologne; and the faculty of arts began to function in the fall of 1451 with three Benedictines, one Augustinian, and three Cistercians as teachers. It is especially interesting to note the prominence of the Cistercians here and elsewhere in Scottish affairs. In respect of their learning, the author states, ". . . it would not be difficult to show that Cistercian standards of learning, particularly of theological learning, were very high in the Scotland of the fifteenth century" (p. 36). The bishop was busy and burdened in his last years, consumed as his time was by domestic affairs, English negotiations, and even a journey to Rome. Plague brought to an end his distinguished life of service to Church, crown, and learning, probably at Glasgow, in September, 1454.

This study is thorough and well written. The materials concerning the university as well as those regarding Turnbull's education have been carefully gathered and the philosophical trends of the time precisely explained. A few of the political complexities, however, might have been less compressed. A good selected bibliography and an index are provided.

JAMES S. DONNELLY

Fordham University

Kardinal Johannes Gropper (1503-1559) und die Anfänge der katholischen Reform in Deutschland. By Walter Lipgens. (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1951. Pp. x, 259. Unbound, DM 14; bound, DM 16.)

In 1906 Wilhelm van Gulik gave us a factual and purely biographical study on the important, but largely neglected, figure of Cardinal Gropper;

now Walter Lipgens complements this work by providing a detailed account of Gropper's connection with the Catholic Reformation in Germany. This excellent and heavily documented work consists of three parts, each sub-divided into three chapters, prefaced by an introduction (pp. 1-8) and followed by a conclusion (pp. 218-223). The first and third parts (pp. 9-66 and 117-218 respectively) are biographical, while part two (pp. 67-116) is devoted to Gropper's theological position. Appendix I (pp. 224-229) lists thirty-seven works from Gropper's pen; Appendix II (pp. 230-241) is a catalogue of correspondence sent or received by Gropper, featuring 136 items; Appendix III (pp. 241-252) contains the author's bibliography. A double-column index (pp. 252-259) concludes the work.

A serious and successful effort has been made in fixing Gropper's place in the history of his times. Gropper's stature is really enhanced, and rightly so. Part One tells of Gropper's youth and early career as a priest and canonist. He was also a humanist and earnestly desired a reform of the Church, but in the humanistic sense. His attendance at the Diet of Augsburg (1530) caused him to realize the importance of the religious issue. Thereupon he devoted the next six years to a close study of Sacred Scripture and the fathers with the result that Gropper the humanist was transformed into Gropper the Christian and theologian. From 1536 on Gropper is a pious priest and an ardent defender of the Church's cause, nay more—he becomes the leader of the Catholic reform movement in the true spirit of the Church. This part of the study closes with a treatment of the Provincial Council of Cologne (1536-1538) and Gropper's predominant role in the same.

Part Three discusses Gropper's political and ecclesiastical activities inside and outside of Germany, concentrating on his successful efforts to frustrate the attempts of his archbishop, Herman von Wied, to reform the Archdiocese of Cologne in the Lutheran sense, and on his achievements at the Council of Trent and during his short stay in Rome, where he died all too young. It was Gropper's chief merit to have saved the Rhineland and Westphalia from defecting to the Lutheran cause.

The second part of this study is an analysis and a critical appraisal of Gropper's first and most popular theological work, the *Enchiridion*, published in 1538. It reveals Gropper wholly orthodox on all dogmas of the Catholic faith. Only on the crucial question of justification did he entertain an interpretation different from that officially defined by the Council of Trent, which he immediately accepted as the correct view yet as essentially consonant with his own. A similar study in English on the great Gropper, cast in the same scholarly mold, would be more than welcome.

Pontifical College Josephinum GEORGE J. UNDREINER

Hospitäler der Franziskaner in Miyako (1594-1597). By Dorotheus Schilling, O.F.M. [Schriftenreihe der neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft. Les Cahiers de la Nouvelle revue de science missionnaire, IX.] (Switzerland: Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft. 1950. Pp. 93.)

In various publications Dr. Schilling has made available the results of studies regarding the early missionary activities of the Catholic Church in Japan. For this present study he has selected the medical work of the early Franciscans as carried out in the establishment of two hospitals. The first chapter of this study relates the foundation of the hospitals, the location and particular reasons favoring this project. The second chapter deals with the financial aspects of the hospitals, namely, the raising of funds, and its support. Most willingly contributions were made by the Japanese, Catholics and pagans alike. Help was granted by the Spanish government because of the Spanish Franciscans coming from the Philippine Islands. The Portuguese merchants gave generous assistance, and the Jesuit missionaries, contrary to the jurisdiction controversy, privately supported this charitable enterprise. In the third chapter of the study we are informed about the management of the hospitals; that is, about the personnel: the two administrators, the physician, the pharmacist, and the nursing staff. It will surprise the reader that mostly Japanese themselves were in charge of the hospitals. Furthermore, we are well informed about the number of patients, and the spiritual and physical care given them. Finally, a report is given about the results in the hospitals regarding the mission work such as the spiritual results among the nurses and helpers, baptism among the sick, and the influence of this charitable work upon outsiders.

This short study is very thoroughly done and a great amount of hitherto unknown information is given. The author draws from original sources and literature, and to every detail references are given in this study; the painstaking research is well rewarded in a most interesting and complete story. Besides giving a full description of this medical mission work, the study shows the favorable circumstances, hindrances, and difficulties the Franciscans had to meet with.

Well known in the mission history of the Far East is the controversy of jurisdiction and its evil effects. In this little study a well-documented account is given of how this controversy interfered with the building of the hospitals, aggravated the operation and expansion, and greatly increased the hostile attitude of the Japanese rulers against the Catholic religion. The hospitals had been established in 1594 but the Franciscans' work came to an end with the outbreak of the December persecution in 1596 in which they were arrested and put to death in February, 1597,

at Nagasaki. Father Dorotheus' study has an excellent index. We could well have expected further fine research in mission history of this friar had not death brought an end to his career.

MATHIAS BRAUN

New Orleans

The Making of the Restoration Settlement. By Robert S. Bosher. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 309. $5.00.)

With the restoration of Charles II the re-established Anglican Church underwent a transformation which was at first sight most unexpected. The previous history of the church had shown that a certain degree of flexibility, by which as many shades of opinion as possible could be accommodated, was good policy. The Elizabethan religious program had succeeded where the Laudian experiment had failed. In 1660 there were particularly cogent reasons to attempt to placate dissenting opinions. Yet the Anglican Church which was established at the restoration was essentially the same as that of Laud. It could not hope to include the moderate dissenters, and the establishment of the free churches followed.

This apparent paradox has frequently engaged the attention of historians, but Dr. Bosher claims that his own researches have led him to evidence which has not so far received due weight. His claim is justified. Briefly, his thesis is that the explanation is to be sought, not primarily in a revulsion of feeling in England from the tenets of the sects who had brought down the monarchy during the civil wars, but in the emergence among the exiles during the protectorate of the high church Laudians as the only party with a clearly-defined interest. Their experiences had determined them that if the church was to be re-established there must be no more concessions to Romanism or radicalism.

They laid the foundations of ultimate success when they converted Hyde to the principle that with the restoration of the monarchy the church must be restored without concessions to the sects. Hyde worked to this end with a fixity of purpose and a flexibility of means which ensured its ultimate success. He was further helped by the divided counsels of the discomfited Presbyterians, which he used very skillfully. Ultimately, the principle was established that there was room in the Anglican Church only for those Presbyterian ministers who were prepared to accept episcopal ordination. In the 1660's this meant the beginning of the free churches.

Dr. Bosher develops his thesis with care and restraint. He is at great pains to avoid simplifying the very complex issues of the time, to assume that because we now see events in a certain pattern that this pattern was present to the minds of the protagonists. He shows how well Hyde and

the Anglican exiles used the opportunities presented by the restoration to implement what they considered essential principles, but he points out also that none of them could have been certain, when Charles II entered London on May 29, 1660, what was to be the exact nature of the re-established church. Indeed, he is so anxious to insist on how much depended on "the chain of circumstance" that he is, perhaps, inclined to stress too lightly the effect of the revulsion from the heyday of the sects during the civil wars.

There is an adequate index, but a bibliography fuller and more formal than either the note on sources (pp. 295-296) or the bibliographical abbreviations (pp. 297-299) is required.

PATRICK J. CORISH

St. Patrick's College
Maynooth

Into All Lands. The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1950. By H. P. Thompson. (London: S. P. C. K. House. 1951. Pp. xv, 760. 42s.)

Into All Lands is, according to the sub-title, "The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1950." The author was for some time editorial secretary of the S. P. G. This society began in America the modern missionary work of the Church of England. It was originally concerned with the colonists of the eastern seaboard and, incidentally, with their Negro slaves and the Indians about them. Later it became interested in three groups: British people scattered in different parts of the world; the native population of what used to be called "heathen lands"; and visitors to the continent of Europe, where it maintains scores of chaplaincies from which many Americans have profited. Laymen have always been prominent in its administration, and it has kept as much as possible out of theological and ecclesiastical controversies, considering itself "the Servant of the Church." (Cf. excellent closing chapter.)

The leading factor in the founding and early development of this voluntary society was the Reverend Thomas Bray, who was sent in 1696 by the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, to be his commissary in Maryland. Here and in the neighboring colonies, where bishops were not allowed owing to political complications, he was highly successful in establishing and supervising churches and church libraries. His portrait is the frontispiece of the volume. This admirable man became deeply interested in the spiritual welfare of the colonists, and determined to advance the work of the Church among them. On his return to England a satisfactory

charter for a missionary society, in the drawing of which he apparently took the leading part, was secured. The founding of the society in 1701 may be compared with the dates of other somewhat comparable missionary agencies, such as: the Congregation of the Propaganda, 1622; the London Missionary Society (Presbyterian), 1795; the Church Missionary Society (Anglican), 1799; the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregational), 1810; and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1822.

India and China, with their vast populations, have been two of the main fields of work. But it is also significant that the S. P. G. has gone to small islands and other remote places to advance the Church's cause. Tristan da Cunha (p. 203), Norfolk Island, the Nicobar Islands, the Seychelles, Rodriguez, St. Helena, Mauritius, Pitcairn, are among the places where its work has been heroic and fascinating. Sometimes a cable station, or a penal settlement, or a small colony descended from shipwrecked seamen, or a remote place where there are a few English planters, or a detached Melanesian population, has been the scene of its efforts. The Church has used every type of method to advance its work—Bible translation; the priestly and pastoral ministry; Christian education; evangelism; the use of the famous South Pacific mission ship, the *Southern Cross;* the building of notable cathedrals, both for British and native people in Africa, the islands of the sea, and India; the establishment of university missions; medical work; the printing press, etc. Two emphases have always been conspicuous: that on the need of bishops for supervising the work of the Church; and the native ministry. Sometimes these have been combined, as in the case of the great Indian leader, V. S. Azariah, late Bishop of Dornikai, who although his father was a devil worshipper, has played an important part in the development of one of the most inspiring movements of Christian co-operation, "the Church of South India."

The volume is a painstaking record of the society's work. It is invaluable as a book of reference. There is an admirable bibliography and a good index, and the work is based largely on the society's records and other source material. It cannot be recommended, however, for reading to any one not specially interested in the subject. The literary form has no charm. The book goes in for too many details regarding appointments, promotions, and characteristics of hundreds of estimable missionaries not only of major but of minor significance. One sometimes fails to see and enjoy the forest owing to over-great attention to the individual trees. Furthermore, although this point is not entirely overlooked, there seems to be an inadequate tieing up of the missionary effort to the social movements of our time. Its relation to democracy and freedom are not stressed enough, nor its opposition to Marxism, communism or totalitarianism.

On the whole it may be said that this is a reliable, useful, and important account of one of the heroic and inspiring movements of later years. It gives one added respect for the Anglican Church and for the people who compose it.

ANSON PHELPS STOKES

Lenox, Massachusetts

Newman's Way. The Odyssey of John Henry Newman. By Sean O'Faolin. (New York: Devin-Adair Co. 1952. Pp. xv, 335. $4.50.)

So many biographical studies of Newman have appeared that any new work of this kind must be judged largely on the basis of the new material it presents and the new lights it sheds on the personality and character of the subject. On the grounds of the former, Mr. O'Faolin's book must be applauded. Painstakingly he has dug up the ancestry of Newman, from Thomas Newman, the obscure tailor, who purchased the ground which later enabled the Newmans to say that they were descended from small landed proprietors of Cambridgeshire; through the first John Newman, the equally obscure grocer, who was the grandfather of John Henry; to the second John Newman who married Jemima Fourdrinier, a woman of some means, rose to be a banker with a town and country house, and fathered John Henry, his two brothers and three sisters, before he was overtaken by financial ruin.

Moreover, Mr. O'Faolin has given us a much more detailed picture of Newman's immediate family and his family relationships throughout the whole of his life, than we have had up to the present. For the details of the family story we can be truly grateful. But I am not sure that we can be equally grateful for some of the author's attempts to shed new light on the character and personality of Newman. It is not that one objects to the portrayal of Newman's faults. But one has a right to protest against the ascription of traits of seeming meanness or smallness of character, when these are not fully justified by the facts presented. To be specific, Mr. O'Faolin gives a distinct impression that Newman was ashamed of his humble origin and of his father's financial failures, and that he harbored this shame and tried to hide the failures through the years of his maturity.

Mr. O'Faolin says: "The children and grandchildren (of John Newman, the grocer) suppressed their low born grandfather. J. H. N. . . . certainly *must* have known about him. After all *we* know" (p. 4). But how do we know? Apparently because Mr. O'Faolin has made it his business to dig into old London directories and because, in his search into the past, he has availed himself of such expert services as those of

"Miss Yseult Parnell with her experienced skill as a genealogist." On page 6 we are told that in the directory of 1799 (i.e., the year of John Newman II's marriage, the year also of John I's death, and two years before John Henry's birth) the first John Newman was listed "Private"; and this is given as an "example of exclusion." Therefore, the suppression or exclusion had taken place two years before Newman's birth. John Henry may or may not have known what Mr. O'Faolin knows about his grandfather. It is not evident that he *must* have known. Even if he did know, what was the occasion which called for Newman to speak of his grandfathaer's business connections and financial status?

A similar example illustrating the way in which Mr. O'Faolin goes beyond the facts he presents in placing an unfavorable construction on Newman's attitude toward family obscurity and financial failure is found on page 77, when he says Newman "could not bear to tell the truth" about the loss of a book of music in his father's bankruptcy proceedings. All Newman did was legitimately to turn aside a question he was under no obligation to answer. The letter given by Miss Ward, to which the author refers, shows that he *did* tell the truth so far as he went in his reply.

One other example will illustrate what seems to me to be Mr. O'Faolin's careless method. In dealing with Newman's reaction to his failure to obtain the high honors he had aimed at in his Oxford examinations, he refers to page 54 of Maisie Ward's *Young Mr. Newman*. Miss Ward says that letters of Newman, written *immediately* after the examination, looked back to a bewildering experience. And she quotes from one to Mr. Mayers: "So great a depression came on me that I could do nothing. . . . My memory was gone, my mind altogether confused. . . ." Evidently he is referring to the effects of mental exhaustion (due to his long grind of study) during the days before and on the very day of the examination. There is nothing in Miss Ward's text nor in her quotations from the letters to indicate any alarming reaction after the failure. On the contrary his reaction, as depicted in quoted letters, is a very sane one. But with no other reference than that to Miss Ward, the author writes: "It (the failure) was a disaster in the innermost core of his being, and he was *unbalanced for weeks* after it" (p. 62). And at the bottom of the same page: "Is it any wonder that his *failure* in the schools temporarily *unseated his reason?*"

In spite of these defects Mr. O'Faolin has given us an interesting, informative and, at times, a brilliantly written book. His account of the events leading up to Newman's conversion is fresh and moving. He displays a deep sympathy with, and a keen appreciation of Newman's subtle mind and his literary artistry. He treats admirably the influence of the death of Hurrell Froude and of the editing of his "Remains" on Newman's ultimate conversion. It seems regrettable, then, that the author

should have marred his work with the carelessness which appears especially in the early chapters, and with what, in spite of the eccentricities of Frank and Charles, appears to be an over-anxiousness to give a Dickensian atmosphere to the Newman family portrait.

✠ LAWRENCE J. SHEHAN
Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore

Ampleforth and Its Origins. Essays on a Living Tradition by Members of the Ampleforth Community. Edited by Abbot Justin McCann and Dom Columba Cary-Elwes. (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1952. Pp. xiv, 306. 22/6.)

Congratulations are due to the great Benedictine abbey and school in Yorkshire, both for attaining its 150th year—an age almost youthful in so ancient an order—and for commemorating the event with this appropriate volume. Eschewing the trite, self-laudatory encomia which anniversaries too often evoke, the contributors, all but one Ampleforth monks, present in a connected series twelve historical essays, solid in content, interesting, objective, some of them the fruit of considerable original research. A good deal in them possesses a restricted appeal; but there is a broadness of scope, and a unity of theme throughout, the continuity of Benedictine life and spirit from the sixth to the twentieth century, whose attraction is universal. This underlying purpose, brought out in the title and in the subtitle, "Essays in a Living Tradition," is well accomplished.

"St. Benedict and His Spirit," the opening chapter, is fittingly from the pen of the present abbot. A short chapter on "The Coming of St. Augustine" recalls that a Benedictine Pope, Gregory I, and a band of Benedictine monks were responsible for the conversion of England. Westminster Abbey, from its founding by St. Edward the Confessor to its final suppression by Elizabeth I, forms the subject of two valuable essays with much new material. The first is by a lay specialist on English monasticism, W. A. Pantin. Ampleforth, as its coat of arms proclaims, is a lineal descendant of Westminster, the royal abbey being the link between mediaeval Benedictinism and the order as restored in nineteenth-century England. Dom Justin McCann, whose name appears at the head of five essays, then follows the disbanded Westminster group in its exile on the continent. The fate of St. Laurence's Priory at Dieulouard, near Nancy, he records from its establishment in 1608 until its dissolution by the French revolutionists. Three outstanding Laurentians of this period, Archbishop Gifford, Blessed Alban Roe, and Father Augustine Baker, the ascetical writer, each merit a chapter.

The reader is treated much more to the origins of Ampleforth than to the abbey itself; he is into the concluding quarter of the narrative before learning of the transition in 1802 from Dieulouard back to Britain. The three last essays trace the humble beginnings in Yorkshire, the uphill century of struggle with external difficulties and with a few crucial internal ones, the commendable participation in the pastoral labors of the English mission, and the slow growth of the monastery, dignified with abbatial status in 1900. Notable in the final chapter, covering the twentieth century, is the intimate, frank picture of the community and its leading representatives. But, due no doubt to modest reluctance, the development of the monastic school to pre-eminence, with over 500 boys in 1939, has been outlined too sketchily.

Throughout this story of trials and achievements glows an abiding, manly devotion to monastic life, education, and apostolic work—the triple motif displayed in the rule of the father of western monasticism. May Ampleforth preserve this spirit intact for the next 150 years! *Ad multos annos!*

JOHN F. BRODERICK

Weston College

La route du petit Morvandiau. By Félix Klein. Tome VII. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1952. Pp. 267. 420 frs.)

This last of a series of seven autobiographical volumes—a sort of catch-all for left-overs—contains recollections of persons celebrated in Church and State; lectures at the Catholic Institute of Paris; a "sermon" delivered at the University of Chicago in 1908; *pages inédites;* articles *ça et là parus;* and an account of the nonagenarian author's visit to the Morvan countryside where as a little lad in wooden shoes he used to take the family sheep to graze. In a long introduction of forty-five pages, Père E.-M. D. has deftly summarized Klein's career, naming many of the distinguished Europeans and Americans with whom he came into close contact—men like Baudrillart, Vigouroux, Fogazzaro, Duchesne, Lavigerie, Bishop Patrice Flynn of Nevers, Loisy, Veuillot, Brunetière, Perraud, Urquhart, Gibbons, Ireland, Keane, O'Connell, Spalding, and Elliott. It has been a colorful career. One thinks of Klein's officially authorized efforts to reclaim the unfortunate Loisy, of the part he played in the Americanism controversy, of his near appointment to the See of Monaco—which failed, it was said, for the same reasons that kept Spalding from being appointed to the See of Chicago at approximately the same time.

Alert and frank, Abbé Klein, in the course of his nearly forty publications listed here in an appendix, has often disclosed things that few other

persons—sometimes nobody else—could reveal. Indeed, in this respect he has been so generous that it seems unreasonable to make further demands on him. Yet some readers will wish it were possible to learn a little more, e.g., about what went on behind the scenes during Archbishop Ireland's visit to Paris in 1900 when the nuncio, Archbishop Benedetto Lorenzelli, at first dubious, displayed enthusiasm as soon as the archbishop turned on his characteristic charm. Wishes of this kind, however, may now be set down as futile. For in the foreword to the present book, the author bids his readers farewell—"pour de bon cette fois: Adieu, mes amis; à Dieu."

JOSEPH MCSORLEY

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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921. Two Volumes. By John Tracy Ellis, Professor of American Church History in the Catholic University of America. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1952. Pp. xix, 707; vii, 735. $17.50.)

In the year 1911 James Cardinal Gibbons celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his priesthood and the twenty-fifth anniversary of his cardinalate. Impressed by the brilliance of a reception given to the cardinal in New York, the editor of the Baltimore *Sun* conceived the idea of honoring Gibbons with a civic celebration in his native and see city. The City Council of Baltimore willingly adopted the project and on May 19 the *Sun* announced the council's resolution setting the date of June 6 for the celebration. In spite of the brief time allowed for preparation the celebration turned out to be "the most remarkable demonstration of universal love and esteem for a private citizen which the United States has ever witnessed."

On the afternoon of June 6 there gathered in the Fifth Regiment Armory in Baltimore an estimated crowd of 20,000 persons for the civic celebration of the cardinal's jubilee. President Taft arrived from Washington shortly before on a special train that carried Vice-President James S. Sherman, Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives, members of the cabinet and the Supreme Court, and large delegations from both houses of Congress. . . . Chief Justice White made a special trip from New Orleans for the event, and practically every important man in the governments of the United States and of Maryland was in evidence on the huge platform. Ten speeches were made during the course of the afternoon with Governor Crothers leading off. . . . He was followed in turn by the President, Sherman, Roosevelt, Senator Elihu Root, Ambassador James Bryce of Great Britain, Clark, Joseph G. Cannon,

former Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mayor James H. Preston of Baltimore, and finally the cardinal. All the speeches were brief but during the talks the encomia heaped upon the guest of honor for his striking attainments as a citizen and his example of what all Americans should be, were of a kind rarely accorded to any man at any time in history (II, 549).

Seven years later, when Gibbons had completed the fiftieth year of his episcopate, the Catholic University of America honored him with an ecclesiastical celebration, less spectacular but equally significant. To it came Archbishop Cerretti, special representative of Pope Benedict XV, bearing a gift from His Holiness. Present also were: the apostolic delegate; Cardinal O'Connell, ten archbishops and fifty-eight bishops representing the American hierarchy; Cardinal Begin from Canada; Bishop Keating, representing the English hierarchy; the Bishop of Arras, the Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, and three priests, representing the Church of France. From Ireland Cardinal Logue bemoaned the fact that the political crisis made it impossible for the Irish hierarchy to send a delegation, but in behalf of the assembled archbishops and bishops he sent most cordial greetings. From all over the world messages of congratulation and expressions of admiration poured in. Thus as Gibbons' life drew toward its close, Church and State vied with each other in honoring the cardinal both for the patent nobility of his life and for the signal service he had rendered to Church and to State.

The service of Gibbons to the Church of the United States was rendered at one of the most critical periods of its existence. Not only had there been bitter prejudice against the Church during the previous years of the nineteenth century; but internal conditions also had produced many difficult problems. Around 1845 had started the great flood of Irish immigration; this was followed, beginning in 1847, by an inrush almost as great from Germany. Millions of Catholics had poured into the country during the three decades preceding the accession of Gibbons to the See of Baltimore. Poor, sometimes illiterate, they came to a Church that was small, poor, ill equipped to provide for and to assimilate the ever-increasing numbers that kept flowing in. To meet the religious needs of these millions the bishops were obliged to bring in priests who were strangers to them, and there was no body of established legislation to define adequately the relationship between priests and bishops. Jealousies based on national rivalries soon arose and these were aggravated by the fact that the Irish, first on the scene and speaking the language of the nation, enjoyed a distinct advantage and quite understandably had the preponderance of representation among both clergy and hierarchy. Secret societies were everywhere flourishing, offering attractive inducements for Catholics to compromise the teaching of their Church, and even to abandon the faith of their forefathers. Labor was making its first successful efforts

to organize workers, and to achieve their purpose labor leaders believed it necessary to protect their organization with oaths of secrecy. The public school system, when not under outright Protestant control, tended to become increasingly secularist, offering a threat to the faith of Catholic children; whereas the poverty of Catholics generally made the maintenance of a school system of their own a difficult and sometimes a seemingly insupportable burden.

These were some of the main problems which beset the Church in the United States at the time when, at the age of forty-three, Gibbons was elevated to the premier see of this country. Nine years before, on the recommendation of Archbishop Martin J. Spalding, who in his letter to Rome had spoken of him as "a priest in all things perfect," Gibbons had been consecrated bishop and named first Vicar Apostolic of North Carolina. In 1870 he had attended the Vatican Council with the distinction of being the world's youngest bishop. Two years later he had been appointed Bishop of Richmond, retaining, however, jurisdiction over the Vicariate Apostolic of North Carolina. During his busy life at Richmond he had found time to write and to publish the most famous of his books, *The Faith of Our Fathers,* which was to go through so many editions and was to be distributed in over two million copies. Then in the year 1877, at the request of Archbishop James Roosevelt Bayley, Gibbons was named Coadjutor Archbishop of Baltimore. Before he had a chance to settle his affairs in Richmond, Bayley died and Gibbons succeeded to our country's oldest and most honored see.

It was the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore that first called forth the full exercise of those special abilities and brought into full light those special qualities which were to bring such fame and influence to Gibbons. Some of the bishops, notably those in the West, were clamoring for a new plenary council to deal with the major problems of the time. Gibbons, however, was cool to the idea of a council at the time, and in this he agreed with the aged and ailing John Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishop of New York. The Holy See, worried no doubt by the increasing appeals of priests against their ordinaries, sided with the western bishops and in 1883 Gibbons, with other members of the American hierarchy, was summoned to Rome to discuss a schema for a new council. The date of the conclave was set for November, 1884, and Gibbons was appointed apostolic delegate to preside.

The thoroughness with which Gibbons made his preparation, the tact and skill with which he presided and directed the deliberations of the council, the effectiveness of the legislation which resulted, brought him universal acclaim. In spite of the presence of such able and eloquent men as Ireland, Spalding, Keane, Ryan, and Kenrick, Gibbons emerged from the council as the acknowledged leader of the American hierarchy, a title

which was never in doubt or in jeopardy from then to the day of his death almost forty years later. Everywhere throughout the country it was assumed that he would be named cardinal in recognition of his achievement at the council. Actually the Holy See did announce his elevation to the Sacred College in 1886 and he was summoned to Rome to receive the red hat in the consistory of March 17, 1887.

One of the things which endeared Gibbons to Americans of all classes was his belief in the American form of government and his devotion to the Constitution of the United States. On taking possession of his titular Church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, he seized upon the occasion to deliver a forthright sermon on the relationship between Church and State. Beginning with the statement of Leo XIII in the encyclical *Immortale Dei,* that the Church is not committed to any particular form of government but adapts itself to all, Gibbons went on to praise the freedom of the Church in the United States and the practical advantages of our system of government. Delivered at a time when relations between Church and State in Italy were so tense, the sermon created somewhat of a sensation; but it called forth an enthusiastic response in the religious and secular press of the United States. It was a theme to which Gibbons was to return time and time again throughout his long life. The warmth and conviction with which he presented it did much to enhance his prestige and popularity with all classes of Americans.

What endeared Gibbons especially to the working class was his early espousal of the cause of labor. It was while in Rome for the reception of the red hat that he presented to the Holy See his famous memorial on the Knights of Labor. That organization had been condemned in Canada, and a number of bishops, worried by its policy of secrecy, advocated that the order in the United States be included under the condemnation. Gibbons, backed by Ireland and Keane, was firmly opposed to condemnation, on the grounds that not only was this step unnecessary but also that such a ban would serve to alienate the working class from the Church. Cardinal Taschereau of Canada, in Rome also for the red hat, realizing that the Canadian condemnation could stand only if the United States were brought under it, worked hard to uphold and extend the ban. Gibbons and his aides worked equally hard and even more perseveringly, and in the end they prevailed. Meanwhile a summary of the memorial, through no fault of Gibbons and his associates, found its way into the press. Those on the side of labor were jubilant over Gibbons' defense. From this time on the cardinal stood out before the public as the champion of the working man. His reputation and his influence were greatly enhanced with the publication four years later of Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum.*

Far more trying to Gibbons were the problems arising from the bitter contention which had developed between national groups and from the

divisions which rent the hierarchy over the school question. To give even a brief summary of Gibbons' activity and the leadership he exercised in these fields, however, would require far more space than is allotted to me here. Suffice it to say that in both matters he moved with such skill and tact, such courage and prudence, such evident devotion to both Church and country, that his prestige and influence continued to grow.

Nowhere are the qualities (and the limitations) of Gibbons' leadership more evident than in the part he played in the early history of the Catholic University of America. In the beginning Gibbons manifested no great enthusiasm for the university movement. Ireland and Keane, and above all Spalding of Peoria, were the prime movers. Nor was Gibbons at first anxious to have the university located within the confines of his archdiocese. When the project, approved in the plenary council of 1884, met with opposition from the Propaganda and from some of the American archbishops, he was ready to abandon it. It was Ireland and Keane who fought the early battles for approval, although Gibbons threw the weight of his prestige and influence behind their efforts when he arrived in Rome for the reception of the red hat. When, however, the project had been decided upon and had received the wholehearted approval of Leo XIII, Gibbons made the cause of the university his very own. From then on he was ready to do battle to the very end for its existence and its success. It was he who persuaded Keane to give up his See of Richmond to accept the rectorship with all its labors and worries; it was he who was Keane's main support in meeting the grave difficulties that arose during the early years of the university's life. Without the backing of his interest, his labors, and his prestige it is difficult to see how the university could have gotten under way or could have survived the storms and adversities of its early years.

On the other hand, Gibbons' tendency to place complete, uncritical confidence in those he considered his friends and the weakness of his methods of administration were at least partially responsible for the financial difficulties which almost wrecked the university during the early years of this century. As chancellor he had a major responsibility in seeing to the soundness of the university's investments. Without adequate provision for accounting, the investments of the institution had from the beginning been placed exclusively in the hands of the treasurer, a Washington lawyer and real estate dealer. When in August, 1904, it became known that three Washington banks were prepared to enter involuntary bankruptcy proceedings against the treasurer, the university was faced with the prospect of losing all its investments. Gibbons was deeply shaken by this blow; but he threw himself heart and soul into the task of saving the institution. And save it he did, at the cost of great effort and sacrifice. If the university finally emerged from the ordeal

far stronger financially than it had ever been before, it was due above all to the courage, the persistence, the generosity with which Gibbons fought its battle.

Neither the special abilities of Cardinal Gibbons nor his accomplishments can fully account for the widespread affection and admiration he enjoyed. These must be attributed rather to his character and personality. The picture of the cardinal which emerges from these pages is that of a delicate, quiet, simple man, of superior though not towering intellectual ability; wise, prudent, and courageous; supremely tactful; loyal to his friends and enjoying their full confidence; completely devoted to both his Church and to his country; loving all men and almost universally loved in return. He was not a man of great originality; not a great writer or orator; neither bold nor venturesome. But he had the intelligence to see what was good and practical in the proposals of more brilliant and original men, and he had the happy combination of qualities necessary to succeed where they would have failed. This, for the most part, his fellow-churchmen recognized and, therefore, they turned to him as their leader. But at the same time he had the strength to resist being pushed to the extremes to which bolder and more original men often tend. Mistakes he certainly made, and at times he showed a tendency to waver. But it was the happy combination of his virtues, existing in fine balance and brought into play against the difficult problems of the day, that made him the truly great churchman and created that unique impression he made on his generation.

In his life of Gibbons, Father Ellis has given us a truly important and a most interesting work. It is important because it gives us not only the life of the greatest American churchman of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also the history of the American Church from 1877 to 1921; for Gibbons was at the center of every major activity of the Church and he played a major role in meeting every serious problem. Father Ellis' work is most interesting because in these volumes Gibbons comes to life (as do also his associates). We see him; we hear him; we come to know him as he was. This effect the author achieves by his wise and copious use of original sources, by his admirable organization of the mass of material he had at his disposal, and by the verve with which he tells the complete story. Through all the wealth of details one never loses the clear vision of Gibbons and his associates.

Father Ellis has written with great frankness of the conflicts between ecclesiastical leaders, and of their errors and human weaknesses as they affected the history of the American Church. But if we are to have biographies of our great churchmen this, it seems to me, is the way they must be written, with all pertinent facts, carefully documented. This

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too, evidently, is the way Gibbons would have wished the story of his own life told. In his *Ambassador of Christ* (Baltimore, 1896) he wrote:

> Leo XIII once remarked to Cardinal Manning: "It has been too much the fashion in writing history, to omit what is unpleasant. If the historians of the last century had written the Gospels, for example, we might never have heard of the fall of Peter, or of the treachery of Judas." The same Pontiff in his letter on Historical Studies teaches that "the first law of history is never to dare to speak falsely; its second, never to fear to declare the truth. . . ."
>
> The best models of biography are the inspired penmen. They give us a faithful and accurate portrait of their most sacred subjects, without any effort to hide their moral deformities or defects. David's sin, Peter's denial, Paul's persecution of the early Church, the worldly ambition of the sons of Zebedee, the incredulity of Thomas, are fearlessly recorded without any attempt at extenuation or palliation (pp. 252-253).

But can it be said that it is still too soon to have written what almost certainly will prove to be the definitive biography of Gibbons? Ward published his *Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman* twenty-two years after Newman's death (London, 1912). It is now more than thirty years since Gibbons lay dead in his cathedral church. The reasons for delay were as great, if not greater, in the case of Newman than they are in the case of Gibbons. Part of the value of Ward's work was that he wrote in the living tradition of Newman. An important circumstance giving special value to Father Ellis' work is that he, too, has written while the tradition of Gibbons still lives. In another generation, the life of Gibbons would have had to be recreated wholly from dead documents and dusty files. The author tells us that he never saw Gibbons. But he has steeped himself in the tradition preserved by those who knew and revered the cardinal in life. He has transmitted the flavor of that tradition in his work.

In a sense this work is likely to prove more definitive than Ward's *Newman;* for Ward left Newman's childhood, youth, and family background almost completely untouched, and the large number of biographical studies which have since appeared indicates how much material he left for others to develop and present. Father Ellis, on the other hand, has done his work with a completeness and thoroughness that leaves little if anything to be desired. His volumes deserve to stand next to the volumes of Ward and on the same shelf with the best biographies of the English language.

If I may be granted a further word in a review which has long since exceeded its imposed limits, I would commend the publishers for the care they have given the work and the format in which they have presented it. In particular they are to be congratulated for returning to the custom of

placing the footnotes in their proper place. Let us hope that they have started a return to a tradition which is so helpful to the serious reader. Such a reader will be grateful also for the comprehensive and accurate index with which the volumes end.

✠ LAWRENCE J. SHEHAN
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A Century of Charity: The First Hundred Years of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in the United States. By Daniel T. McColgan. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1951. Two Volumes. Pp. xii, 543; vi, 550. $10.00.)

In this age of increasing stress upon the social aspects of Catholicism and upon the apostolate of the laity, it is somewhat startling to discover how large a measure of social awareness was possessed by many American Catholic laymen during the past century. The record of the devoted work of these men for the victims of the modern social question has now been made available. The curtain of virtual anonymity which has covered their century of charity has now been drawn back, revealing an impressive picture of devoted social service carried on across this land for the glory of God and the souls and bodies of men.

Father McColgan of St. John's Seminary, Boston, has rendered a distinct service to Church and State by making clear for the first time the magnitude of the debt owed to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in this country. With careful scholarship he has investigated the origins and growth of this society of Catholic laymen who labor for Christ and His needy members. Taking its spirit from the charity of St. Vincent de Paul, the modern society of laymen named for him is really a by-product of the social question of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Founded in France in 1833 by a group of young Catholics of the religious renaissance then going on, the society sought to demonstrate the vitality of Catholicism by dedicated service of the poor in their homes. The social needs of the time—as well as the essential vitality of Catholicism—assured the growth of this practical apologetic for the faith. In short order it spread beyond France in many directions, one of them being westward across the Atlantic. It is with the development in this country that these volumes are concerned.

Introductory chapters vividly summarize the life of St. Vincent de Paul and of his nineteenth-century disciple, Frédéric Ozanam, setting forth clearly the consuming love of God and of His creatures which was the dynamic principle of both lives. Then the author shows how the flame that was lit in France was carried to America. Proceeding by dioceses, Father McColgan has followed the general chronology of the

establishment of the society throughout this country. Where the story of growth in a given diocese is not too lengthy, he has brought it down to the present in one continuous treatment. Otherwise, he has broken it into "beginnings" and, later on, "further developments." The sources to which he has gone are listed in footnotes carried at the end of each chapter. Among these are abundant references to archival and periodical sources, as well as to pertinent monograph literature.

The last six chapters deal with a variety of subjects concerning the society: its structure; its relations with other charitable agencies; its rule and purpose; its finances; and its "special works." This last classification covers what is, perhaps, the most revealing section of the whole work, for it shows the surprisingly wide scope of charitable works undertaken by these lay apostles of charity. The range of activities is truly astonishing, including varied forms of help for families, children, women, the unemployed, homeless, transients, prisoners, handicapped, Negroes, Indians, military personnel, disaster victims, hospital aid, temperance work, legal aid, and social reform. This last category is particularly interesting in view of the concentration of the society upon social "relief" rather than upon "reform." In this connection, Father McColgan declares that

> In the United States there were some Vincentians who were social actionists as well as social workers. Most Vincentians, however, were content to struggle with the immediate and pressing problems of poverty and to leave the attack on the causes of poverty to others (II, 521).

Yet, he also tells us that Ozanam "felt that social work and social reform were but phases of one program" (II, 520). In justification for their greater emphasis upon relief, the author declares that "they felt called, perhaps they only felt competent, to deal with the poor and the needy" (II, 521). Yet, it is gratifying to read that "in the large cities, especially, the Vincentians participated in community movements to attack the evils of bad housing, of tuberculosis and vice" (II, 521). Thus, he says they were "leaders" in promoting housing legislation, and they also encouraged the growth of credit unions and supported interracial plans. Granting all this, we may still hope to hear relatively more of this phase of Vincentian "special works" in the years ahead.

At the end of the work three appendices briefly describe the Vincentian work in national parishes and in rural areas and then set forth the conditions for future success of the society in the United States. A complete index is furnished at the end of each volume. The absence of a bibliography is apparently explained by the relative scarcity of published works in this particular field.

A certain monotony of tone was, perhaps, inevitable in a work dealing with so many parallel chronicles. But this tone is well offset by the

high degree of human interest which Father McColgan has injected into the story. It might almost be said that the work is quite largely the biography of the leading Vincentians of the past century. They have been brought onto the stage of history for probably the first time—and have been revealed as really remarkable Christian gentlemen. With them one also meets, if more briefly, very many of the key figures of the American Church during the past century. In fact, this history of the society in the United States incidentally furnishes the reader with a very considerable knowledge of American Catholic history of the last one hundred years.

One striking feature of the work is the excellent use of graphic quotations from contemporaneous accounts of social conditions. Most of these are vividly illustrative of the type of situations which evoked the apostolic endeavors of the society. Taken together they provide a candid picture of the grievous social conditions so widely prevalent during the past century.

Another significant feature of these two volumes is the portrayal of the relationship between the society and modern organized social work. In general, the relationship has been an increasingly amicable one, although it is made clear that professional social workers have not infrequently displayed a certain unfavorable bias toward Vincentian voluntary workers. Yet the stress of the latter upon personal interest in the poor and its use of proven casework techniques, to say nothing of the dynamic motivation behind its work, have saved the society from any justified charge of amateurishness.

The general pattern of ecclesiastical, social, economic, and political history, well presented in summary form in these two volumes, forms an illuminating background for the specific pattern so well interwoven with it by the author. The result is a distinct contribution to Catholic, American, and social history. We are all the richer for the work of Father McColgan.

FERGUS MCDONALD

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Americanism: A Phantom Heresy. By Abbé Félix Klein, with an Introduction by Archbishop John Ireland. Foreword by James M. Gillis, C.S.P. (Atchison, Kansas: Aquin Book Shop. 1951. Pp. xxx, 345. $5.00.)

To convince most present-day American Catholics that a heresy called Americanism was once condemned by papal letter fifty years ago would

require not only argument but explanation. And it is doubtful if the explanation will make much sense, even when related by one of the chief exponents of the heresy. Abbé Félix Klein wrote an introductory preface to a French translation of the life of Father Isaac Hecker, the founder of the Paulist Fathers, written by Father Walter Elliott. Suddenly the French Catholic press was filled with extreme praise for this American priest and for certain modern ideals attributed to him. Then came a reaction and charges of heresy in almost as generous a proportion. To stop this controversy, Pope Leo XIII issued his letter, *Testem benevolentiae,* in January, 1899, in which certain errors attributed to the admirers of Hecker were condemned. The controversy subsided, yet it is doubtful that any one admitted holding the condemned ascetical doctrines. That is why Klein in his autobiography calls it "A Phantom Heresy."

Father Joseph McSorley, C.S.P., and a group of collaborators have given a faithful translation to the ideas of Abbé Klein and in addition they have strengthened the accounts of American personages to make the translation more acceptable to an American reader. Moreover, Father McSorley has added a glossary of names and some supplementary English letters from Abbé Klein's correspondence. Students of American religious history at the turn of the century will enjoy reviewing the controversial decade of the 1890's with the conflict between the conservatives and the progressives, and between such personalities as Archbishops John Ireland and Michael Corrigan and their associates.

Abbé Klein has a right to defend himself and his friends from the unjust imputations of heresy. Looking back after fifty years, the church historian can regret sincerely the obtuseness with which conservative French clergymen resisted the efforts of progressive clergymen to dissociate the Christian religion from the political and social traditions of an older age and to enable the modern Christian to find his spiritual home in the Church. It is difficult for an American Catholic to understand how the conservative clergymen of the 1890's could have found so much heresy in democracy. Certainly the spectacular efforts now being made in France to win back erring Frenchmen from communism would be much less necessary if the Americanists of fifty years ago had been better understood. The Spanish-American War, which had some influence on this discussion, instead of awakening the conservatives to the facts of political progress in the new world, merely aroused a resentment that made balanced judgment almost impossible. Luckily for American Catholicism most American clerics did not let the condemnation of Americanism upset their hopes.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

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St. Ann's on East Twelfth Street, New York City, 1852-1952. By Henry J. Browne. (New York: Roman Catholic Church of St. Ann. 1952. Pp. v, 66.)

This is the history of a New York parish written from documentary sources and the recollections of priests and parishioners. As is convenient in a parish history, the facts are grouped around the successive pastors from John Murray Forbes—who founded the parish during his ten-year Catholic interlude between his two periods in the Protestant ministry—down to the present rector, Father Daniel J. Fant. An apostate pastor was a disheartening thing for the new parish but Forbes' fellow convert and former colleague, Monsignor Thomas S. Preston, was a providential compensation. His regime (1862-1891) saw the heyday of St. Ann's to which he lent the prestige of his position as chancellor, vicar general, protonotary apostolic (*rara avis* then), preacher, and writer. One might like to see a list of Preston's books here. He was the most prolific author of New York's parish clergy but to his books, we might apply Father Browne's comment on Dr. Forbes' nine curates—who averaged less than a year in St. Ann's—"history has rewarded them for the most part with oblivion." Of these assistants, however, Father William Everett left his impression on the old East Side and Patrick Egan's contributions to Catholicism in Westchester are fruitful and remembered, one parish having erected a memorial building in his honor. St. Ann's was spared the notoriety of the McGlynn episode. He was pastor for a while before Monsignor Preston but left to become chaplain of a military hospital—his first taste of war.

A parish is the Church in microcosm and in St. Ann's we meet every Archbishop of New York. The dedication of the first church brought bishops from Nashville, Pittsburgh, and Louisville, a good cross-section of the hierarchy. Archbishop McCloskey's sermon at the dedication of the second church made converts in North Carolina. St. Ann's is happy in its historian. He writes with the technique of the trained historian and corrects and supplements John Gilmary Shea's earlier history of the parish. The printer gives us "St. Jean de Baptiste" and the "sea" of New York in an otherwise well made book.

JOSEPH M. EGAN

St. Frances of Rome Church
New York

GENERAL HISTORY

History and Human Relations. By Herbert Butterfield. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1952. Pp. 254. $3.50.)

Professor Butterfield of Cambridge, most philosophical of historical scholars, presents here eight studies designed to illuminate the deep and subtle relation between historical honesty and social tranquillity. The first, on "The Tragic Element in Modern History," ought to bring the blush of shame to the cheeks of those propagandist writers of contemporary history who make no effort to rise above the scene of international strife and understand all sides in the terrible wars that have desolated the earth. The genuine historian knows that behind all such conflicts there lies "a terrible human predicament"; that sooner or later the very structure of the historical narrative will be based upon that predicament; and that then we shall know that we ought to have been "a little more sorry for both parties than they knew how to be for one another." This kind of study may not prevent all wars, but it helps at the end of one war to make a peace that is something better than a mere stage-setting for the next war. If historical study does not generate that kind of wisdom, something is wrong with historical study.

Every other essay relates in some degree to the historian's obligation to empty himself of bias, prejudice, and presumption, to realize how hard it is to get at historical reality and how greatly the natural and theological virtues are needed in the effort. The essay most worth special comment in so brief a review, and perhaps the one most characteristic of Butterfield's thinking, is on "The Dangers of History." Probably no better delineation has ever been made of the unhappy consequences of learning history from those world-embracing textbook abridgements which, sad to say, dominate most of our academic instruction: "The mind sweeps like the mind of God over centuries and continents, churches and cities, Shakespeares and Aristotles, curtly putting everything in its place. Any schoolboy thinks he can show that Napoleon was foolish as a statesman, and I have seen Bismarck condemned as a mere simpleton by undergraduates who would not have had sufficient diplomacy to wheedle sixpence out of a college porter." Abridged history has been one of the most fertile sources of presumption and intellectual arrogance. Instead of placing the student's mind in touch with solid truths upon which a sound structure of knowledge may later be raised, it fills his head with fixed ideas that may have little correspondence with reality and thus may prevent the development of a mental elasticity needed for grappling with the world when he comes of age. If he goes on to become acquainted with techniques of research, with manuscript sources, diplomatic correspondence, private letters and diaries, with all the manifold variety

of materials that have to be compared, verified, and studied carefully before any historical statement can be made with certainty, the student will learn something of the complex processes of historical life and acquire a wisdom to extricate himself from the dead rigidities of academic history. But most students never obtain the benefit of that experience; and for those, so thinks Professor Butterfield, it is better that they should not allow the academic version "to freeze in their minds, while the world changes, and historical science changes—better that they should not thirty years later be holding too rigidly in their memory the things learned so long before." Hence the best teacher of history is not the one who manages to transfer the greatest part of the textbook into the heads of his pupils, but the one who knows the dangers of the subject and warns against the over-simplifications which are likely to convey to young minds "an academic dream-impression of what statesmen can do, what governments achieve, what their national mission is, and what can be brought about by sheer self-assertion and will." Educators, therefore, would be wise to take closer account of how abridged history has conditioned minds to accept evil ideologies derived apparently from the "lessons of history"; and of how great revolutionary dictators have learned "the tricks of the trade" from what passed in their minds as history.

It seems only yesterday that most of our abridged histories saw everything moving forward on lines of nationality and liberalism; but today the lines are internationalism and democracy. What will they be a generation hence? Where is the textbook which, while presenting a broad historical perspective, leaves the student's mind open to the possibility that the founding of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, may have been a more important historical event of 1795 than the Franco-Prussian Treaty of Basle; or that the encyclical *Non abbiamo bisogno* of 1931 may have more far-reaching influence on universal history than, say, President Hoover's moratorium on international debts that occurred about the same time? Historical study should generate an incandescence in the mind, not fill it with old lumber. But how shall the history and social studies teacher of the mid-twentieth century be brought to apprehend this truth?

Ross J. S. Hoffman
Fordham University

Troy: The Third, Fourth, and Fifth Settlements. By Carl W. Blegen, John L. Caskey, Marion Rawson. (Princeton: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati. 1951. Volume II. Part 1: Text; Part 2: Plates. Pp. xxii, 325; xxiii, 318 numbered illustrations and plans. $36.00.)

Volume I, Parts 1 and 2, of this truly monumental work, was previously reviewed in this journal (January, 1952, pp. 468-470), and the background,

scope, and plan of the whole publication were indicated. It will be possible, therefore, to turn at once to the second instalment and its contents.

Troy III, which arose on the ruins of Troy II, was a small city. While four successive phases can be recognized in Troy III, the pottery shows that there was no appreciable change in culture throughout its duration. Plastic representations of the human face on covers and necks of jars, animal figurines of clay, and a great increase in the quantity of deer bones are all characteristic features of Troy III. As in the case of Troy I and II, the pioneer and rough methods of excavation carried on by Schliemann have made the task of the Cincinnati Expedition extremely difficult in many ways. The chronology of Troy III in relation to the chronology of Aegean and Helladic sites in general still bristles with problems. It is clear, however, that Troy III was in close contact with Aegean centers, and was in fact in closer contact with the Aegean area than with central Anatolia. Troy III may have lasted about a century.

Troy IV occupied the whole mound and five phases can be distinguished in its culture. A new type of house, domed ovens, and a somewhat better pottery characterize Troy IV as compared with Troy III. Contacts in this period with Aegean centers were more marked. Troy IV may have lasted about 150 years. The culture of Troy V reveals three main phases, but there is no sharp break in the general continuity of Trojan culture from the First Settlement through the Fifth. The culture of Troy V is superior, however, to that of Troy IV, especially in its pottery. Plastic decoration exhibiting spirals, and broad painted crosses are characteristic features. It is noteworthy that the contacts with Aegean centers seem to be fewer. There were contacts with central Anatolia and probably with Cyprus. Troy V may have lasted about 150 years, when it was apparently conquered but not destroyed by invaders employing the horse and chariot in warfare. Troy V would seem to have been concurrent with the close of the Early Bronze Age in the Aegean and on the Helladic mainland.

The two volumes under review reveal the same exhaustive treatment of the archaeological evidence accompanied by copious illustrations. Greater attention has been given to Aegean, Helladic, and Anatolian contacts and parallels and this is most welcome. The first two volumes have been hailed by specialists as being models of their kind and the same high standard of scholarship continues to be maintained. But again the reviewer would like to plead for the ultimate publication of a one-volume summary presenting the essentials written, perhaps, in a more personal and warmer style.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

The Catholic University of America

The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions. Translated with commentary, glossary, and bibliography by Clyde Pharr in collaboration with Theresa Sherrer Davidson and Mary Brown Pharr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. xxvi, 643. $20.00.)

Professor Pharr, in collaboration with his associates Theresa Sherrer Davidson and Mary Brown Pharr, has produced the first translation into any language of the Theodosian Code, the Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions. The translation is prefaced by an introduction written by C. Dickerman Williams, an outline of Roman history by Clyde Pharr, a list of Roman emperors and translations of the *Gesta senatus urbis Romae* and the *De constitutionariis* of Valentinian III; a commentary, glossary, and bibliography accompany the translation. This volume is the first in a series which is designed to provide a translation of all the sources of Roman law accompanied by glossaries and commentaries. For the Code and the Sirmondian Constitutions the translation is based on Mommsen's text, for the Novels on Mommsen-Meyer, while Krueger, Haenel, and others have been consulted.

This translation will be of inestimable value for students of Roman law, the history of the later Roman Empire, ecclesiastical history, and the history of social and economic development. Although it is clearly true that serious students will always be obliged to check their references in original texts, nevertheless, legal Latin is difficult, and as a result the history of the fourth and fifth centuries has often suffered because the legal sources have not been fully exploited. Professor Pharr and his collaborators are to be congratulated for the scholarship and industry with which they have addressed themselves to a task, the magnitude and complexity of which would have daunted most men. Students of the law and history of the later Roman Empire will be deeply in their debt and it is to be hoped that the debt will often be acknowledged.

The imperial laws of the Theodosian Code and Novels which fall in the period between 312 A.D. and 468 A.D. include a great quantity of administrative, political, social, and economic legislation. The ranks and duties of officials of the imperial bureaucracy, the status of *coloni* and decurions, laws regulating contract, marriage, inheritance, and property, the duties of tax assessors and collectors, the rules for military promotion, attempts to restrict governmental corruption, price-fixing, anti-Semitism and the relations between Church and State are but a few of the subjects with which the imperial legislation deals, and some of the problems have a strangely contemporary ring.

The translation is direct and literal, as it should be in a work of this nature, and wherever it has been tested it was accurate and faithful.

Occasionally a phrase will strike the ear as odd as, e.g., "holy maidens" for "consecrated virgins," but these instances are few and, in contrast with the magnitude of the work, are minutiae. At times the translation merely reproduces the problem of the original as in "the Primates of the Plebeians of Alexandria," but it may be argued that this is as it should be and that even a commentary cannot be expected to deal with every problem. In a work of this kind one always hopes for notes which are not there, even as one sorrowfully reflects that books cannot get too big. Many historians, perhaps, will find the introduction and outline of Roman history somewhat elementary and feel that the space could have been saved for additional notes. The same might be said of parts of the selective bibliography. The translation is equipped with an excellent index which will be very useful.

This book will be extremely valuable not merely for imperial history but for church history as well. A careful study of the legislation on the position of bishops in the fourth and fifth centuries will cause the revision of many incautious judgments. And many other historical questions will no doubt benefit by the labors of Professor Pharr.

CHARLES P. LOUGHRAN

Fordham University

The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages. By Beryl Smalley. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1952. Pp. xxii, 406. $7.50.)

Miss Smalley's superb study has been much reviewed elsewhere, both in its original and now its revised edition. [For reviews of the original edition, cf. especially M. L. W. Laistner in *Speculum,* XVII (1942), 146-148, and A. Souter in *Journal of Theological Studies,* XLII (1942), 99-102; of the revised edition, cf. my descriptive review in *America,* XXVII (September, 1952)]. I propose to comment upon it by comparing her approach and method with those of Father Ceslaus Spicq, whose *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au moyen âge* (Paris, 1944) appeared independently of Miss Smalley's work. Spicq restricts himself to printed materials but has carried into the fourteenth century; she has explored manuscript sources, and stopped about 1300. But there are more significant differences in their control of their materials that I wish to suggest briefly.

One might begin by noting that Smalley's use of Spicq in her revised edition is limited to her section on the friars, but there are other places she might have cited Spicq, especially for the fathers (e.g., Bede), or later, for Rabanus Maurus, for Spicq is much fuller in his treatment of Rabanus and considers that his originality is not so much in his commentaries

themselves, which is Smalley's concern, as in his effort to promote understanding of Scripture by formulation of hermeneutic rules; Spicq then follows him through his exegetical principles. Similarly, Spicq's organization permits him to discourse on the literal and the spiritual sense in a more cohesive manner than Smalley, whose historical approach continually takes her away from an extended discussion though, to be sure, it always brings her back to the problem. Smalley frequently uses Spicq's valuable lists, as in the case of Hugh of St. Cher; however, she does not refer us to Spicq's discussion of "les correctoires," which is as full as her own—an extended comparison of their discussions of Hugh reveals how essentially alike are their conclusions, though the approach is different. Spicq, on the other hand, defines *postilla* but his definition is not so clear and lacks the firmness of definition and the controlled historical explication of Smalley: here the historical is clearly the more valuable method. Smalley is often more suggestive, as in her inclusion of Kantorowicz's survey of commentaries of canon law. In touching on Nicholas Trevet as historian Smalley carries the discussion through effects to the fifteenth-century Gascoigne, and she clarifies his reference to a copy of Trevet on the Psalter, "containing a translation from the Hebrew with a parallel Hebrew text," and suggests that this may have been MS. Corpus 11, which was, perhaps, Trevet's own notebook—an example of the great help of first-hand knowledge of the MSS.; on Trevet's commentary on the Psalms, Spicq notes that he "sait très bien l'hebreu" and gives us further analysis of his method. Each reinforces the other, and we need both.

In part the difference is one of method, the historian's and the theologian's independent approach to the vast area of mediaeval commentaries of Scripture; in part the differences lie in the emphasis of the one on printed materials and of the other upon manuscript sources. As Miss Smalley herself notes: "Actually it seems that we supplement each other. Fr. Spicq is a professional theologian and an amateur historian, while I am a professional historian and no theologian at all." But she is too modest, for she has an enviable understanding of her theological materials—as Spicq would not have been successful without the tools and some of the method of the historian. There is then corroboration without serious overlapping; we need both for mediaeval studies. In a forthcoming review-article in *Thought* (on a recent study of *Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition*), I have tried to suggest to students of literature further possibilities of all this, as well as limitations of the method. We are fortunate, then, to have two such excellent works, each so successful within its own area.

RICHARD J. SCHOECK

Cornell University

English Versions of the Bible. By Hugh Pope, O.P. Revised and amplified by Sebastian Bullough, O.P. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1952. Pp. ix, 787. $10.00.)

Recent and current translations of the Bible make this lengthy volume of the late Hugh Pope a timely one. The interested historian and student of English literature will find here all the essential information and bibliography pertinent to the history of the English Bible from the Saxon glosses to the current Confraternity edition. The treatment is divided into five parts: Anglo-Saxon and early English manuscript versions, early printed editions (from Tyndale to the Bishop's Bible), the Rheims-Douay and Authorized versions, Catholic versions since Rheims-Douay, Protestant versions since the Authorized version. Four appendices are devoted to the original prefaces of the Rheims-Douay, a list of Catholic editions since 1505, and a list of private Protestant versions. A very extensive bibliography, a complete index, and a list of American editions of the Bible complete this huge work.

On the whole, Father Pope has succeeded in giving a complete picture of this complicated history. Certain chapters, notably the fortieth on twentieth-century Catholic versions, are mainly the contribution of Father Bullough. It is unfortunate that the reviser saw fit to leave untouched chapter six on pre-Wycliffite versions; this is an insert from *Catholic Student's "Aids" to the Study of the Bible* published in 1926 by Father Pope. The reviser indicates (p. 62) that he is aware of a change in Pope's judgment on this question; he should have supplied this chapter as he did for the fortieth. The point at issue is the character of the Wycliffite Bibles, which Cardinal Gasquet tried to prove were orthodox and really pre-Wycliffite. Almost 200 copies of these exist and modern scholarship is quite firm in rejecting the theorizing of Gasquet.

A great merit of this volume is the creation of a sense of history as we move through the various periods of the transmission of the English Bible. This is achieved by very many direct quotations from the original editions, in which the original spelling and expression are retained. A certain minimum of background with respect to the lives of translators and editors is given. The historian will be particularly interested in the prefaces and notes to the translations, which are freely quoted by the author. They document vividly the religious battles and prejudices of their day.

A tremendous amount of reading was necessary for a study such as this. Nor is individual judgment lacking; throughout the book Father Pope compares and expresses his opinion on various translations. He is at pains to defend, and rightly, the Douay-Rheims version, pointing out the use made of the Rheims New Testament by the translators of the

King James version. When we see the savage attacks by early Protestants upon the Douay-Rheims, it is comforting to read the balanced judgments in its favor by men of a later generation like Scrivener and Westcott. It is an odd quirk of history that the disdain which the early Protestant leaders had for the Vulgate turned them to a Greek text that was in reality less faithful to the original than St. Jerome's translation. Those days of bitterness are in sad and striking contrast to the nineteenth century when Cardinal Newman could be invited by the Committee for the Revised Version of 1881 to co-operate with them, and to our own day when Catholics and non-Catholics are working together in the international project for the establishment of a critical apparatus of the Greek New Testament.

ROLAND E. MURPHY

The Catholic University of America

Main Currents of Western Thought: Readings in Western European Intellectual History from the Middle Ages to the Present. By Franklin Le Van Baumer. (New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc. 1952. Pp. xvi, 699. Text, $5.50; trade, $7.50.)

As the explanatory sub-title indicates, this volume is a compilation of historical documents illustrative of the intellectual adventures of Europeans throughout the past eight centuries. It is proposed as a basic handbook for the study of western man's cultural response from age to age and generation to generation. Such history is a new arrival in the family of scientific disciplines. While bearing pointed resemblance to other projects of inquiry, it can not be identified with them. Thus it is not the philosophy of history, since it does not restrict its research primarily to the teleological factors in man's advance. Nor is it the history of literary achievement, which subjects form to rigid analysis and considers literary ideas as the timeless and free domain of the human spirit. Nor again is it mere ideational history, engaged in tracing the lineage of single ideas with only secondary regard for their integration. It is rather a descendant of the German *Geistesgeschichte,* and like this parent, it is interested in groups of ideas and their presentation as a coherent narrative of some defined period of human experience. It seeks the moods of the times, the "climates of opinion," investigating them in their variations and displacements.

Professor Baumer, himself a teacher of western European intellectual history, has shown skill and discernment in gathering these readings. He has selected them "for their typicality rather than their quaintness, and there is throughout a liberal sprinkling of the *vulgarizateurs* as well

as the creative minds" (p. viii). Although he has succeeded well in presenting "dominant trends of thinking" within the limits of space and other publication demands, he will not find all his readers in full agreement upon the aptness of each chosen reading. "Christian Humanism," for example, is represented solely by the writings of Erasmus. While these excerpts reflect many of the moods of his times, they do not seem to give adequate testimony to the "religious piety," the spiritual regenerative forces that drew much of their vigor from the earlier reform movement initiated by Groote, Radewyns, and other figures of the Deventer school of the *Devotio moderna*. For a fuller perception of Christian humanism, readings from Erasmus need some supplementary witness to this religious revival that persisted throughout the Transalpine (German) Renaissance.

To study the path of intellectual history, it is necessary to set terminal points at which ideas and actions begin to change and cede dominance to new cultural patterns. Finding the older temporal periodization of history unsatisfactory, the editor has employed new divisions, whose arrangement and character are in welcome contrast to the defective compartmental apparatus still found in textbooks of European history. Under the "Age of Religion," for example, the familiar periods of the Middle Ages, Renaissance, Protestant Revolt, Catholic Reformation are not presented in the rigid causal relationship used so widely by the German synthesists of the last century. Instead they are reorganized into three periods: "The Medieval Christian World View," "The Renaissance," and "The Confessional Age." Eight interpretative essays introduce the groups of readings and, in a manner both lucid and provocative, explain the ideological pattern of these historical periods. These essays by themselves make Professor Baumer's book illustrious and worthy of long applause.

EDWARD D. MCSHANE

Alma College

Borderlands of Western Civilization. A History of East Central Europe. By Oscar Halecki. (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1952. Pp. xvi, 508. $6.00.)

Professor Halecki's new book is a truly remarkable achievement. Tersely and lucidly, the author presents, from the earliest beginnings to "Stalin's Peace" of today and as one organic whole, the complex and diversified history of the nations dwelling between the Adriatic, Black, and Baltic Seas and encompassed by the real and pretended heirs to the Roman Empire—from Moscow the "Third Rome" to the Third Reich. The unity of this area is thus, firstly, one of historical destiny; it is, sec-

ondly, one of geography. This (one may say) *meso-thalassic* area, comprising the Ponto-Baltic plain, the Danubian Basin, and the Balkans, constitutes, according to the author, a novel section of Europe: east central. This necessitates the division of Europe into four instead of the usual three units: western, west central, east central, and eastern. The line of demarcation between the last two units, by the way, would separate the Great Russians from the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians, which will undoubtedly be resented by some of the readers of this book and welcomed by others. There are, moreover, purely practical reasons for treating that region as a unity. It represents "a vast *terra incognita* of European history" (p. 3) which is usually left out of the studies devoted to mediaeval, modern, Byzantine, Russian, or Ottoman history. Also, the nations of this newly defined sub-division of Europe, which have all at one time or another been subjected to the ambitions of their imperial neighbors, have now nearly all fallen under the yoke of—King Stork, this time!—the most paradoxical and monstrous of all the successors to Rome's imperial tradition: the secularized "Third Rome." Since "a free East Central Europe is indispensable for any sound balance of power on the Continent," it is essential to present to the world the history of that region from the point of view of the nations in it, "which were independent beween the two world wars and which again lost their freedom after the second" (p. vi). This task Professor Halecki achieves with an admirable knowledge and rare objectivity. In the tradition of the Cambridge Histories, the *Borderlands of Western Civilization* is unburdened with an *apparatus criticus*, but contains an excellent select bibliography at the end. The numerous maps, the genealogical table of the dynasties of east central Europe (pp. 270-271), and an extensive index are to be highly commended.

It is only the excellence of this work that evokes the perfectionist in the present reviewer, impelling him to offer the following few remarks. The compression required for covering so vast a subject in a single volume must be responsible for the fact that some few statements stand in need of further qualification. Such, for instance, is the one that "in contradistinction to the restored Western Empire, the Eastern Roman Empire had no desire for territorial expansion" (p. 23, cf. pp. 41, 142). Actually, it never failed to embark upon an expansionary policy whenever it felt powerful enough for that, as witness, *inter alia*, the Caucasian and Balkan enterprises of the Basilid ("Macedonian") period. That the success of Adalbert of Trier's mission in evangelizing Kiev (ended in 962) "would have brought Russia under papal authority" (p. 37) is a statement that ought to be clarified by adding something like "more directly" to qualify the verb (i.e., by placing Russia within the *patriarchal* jurisdiction of Rome), for, between the schisms, her dependence on the Patriarch of

Constantinople, too, implied—juridically—an admission of that authority. Likewise, it is somewhat vague to say that Vladimir of Kiev "became a saint of the Eastern church" (p. 45), the last three words referring in this case at once to the Catholics of the Byzantine rite and to the Greek Orthodox, who equally venerate the "apostolic" prince. "Vasil" is neither the Russian "Vasiliy" *(Vasily)* nor the English "Basil," one of which two forms can alone be used of the three Grand Dukes of Moscow and the Czar of Russia of that name mentioned in this book (cf. pp. 119, 125, 149, 194, etc.). The family name of the British ambassador at St. Petersburg was double: Hanbury Williams (cf. p. 246). Prince Nicholas Gorchakov was not a brother of the Chancellor Gorchakov (p. 324), but a cousin. Finally, the purist may regret the use of "Greek Emperor" *(passim)* and even "Emperor of Byzantium" (cf. index) for the eastern (Roman) emperors (but cf. "Holy Roman Emperor," *passim*); the use of "czar," instead of "emperor," when referring to the sovereigns of Russia after 1721; and the absence of the definite article to modify "emperor" and "empress." But all this is of little or no importance. The book is a most valuable and welcome contribution for which all students of history will be grateful to Professor Halecki.

CYRIL TOUMANOFF

Georgetown University

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

More's Utopia. The Biography of an Idea. By J. H. Hexter. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 171. $3.00).

Professor Hexter declares that the life span of the idea for the book *Utopia* was brief, that "it seems to have been born in the mind of Thomas More sometime in the third quarter of 1515." His stimulating reconstruction of the writing of *Utopia* is that More first wrote in Antwerp what he thought was a finished book, but that after he returned to London he felt impelled to add to it and, therefore, he opened it at a strategic seam and made his additions—to some extent this has been anticipated by Oncken. In a section interpreting More on property ("The Orthodox View: What More's Friends Believed"), Hexter writes: "they thought he was praising community of property and rejecting private property as the basis of the Good Society." But this is a simplification of the views of such men as Budé, and as I have indicated in a forthcoming note in *English Studies,* there is in Budé's letter to Lupset (when one reads it in full) an important emphasis on law and the significance of *Utopia* in modifying legal and political institutions; granted that the legal emphasis is only part of Budé's praise, yet I think it is closer to the central issues

and to More's intentions than private property. Hexter dismisses religion and philosophy as the root elements: "What makes Utopia the Best Society is explicitly the abolition of a money economy, of private property, and of the institutional pattern of which they were a part."

When Hexter sees *Utopia* in terms of evil, there will be wider agreement:

> The Utopian Discourse then is based on a diagnosis of the ills of sixteenth century Christendom; it ascribes those ills to sin, and primarily to pride, and it prescribes remedies for that last most disastrous infection of man's soul designed to inhibit if not to eradicate it.

For this is in the tradition of Chambers, Campbell, and Donner, and the diagnosis itself is very Augustinian: it seems, therefore, more reasonable to believe that the life span of the Utopian idea was much more than one year, that More's diagnosis of his own society began with his learned lectures on the *City of God* a dozen years before *Utopia* actually came from his pen. It is extraordinary that neither St. Augustine nor his *City of God* is indexed and that in discussions of More's sources St. Augustine is not even mentioned, for the first half of the sixteenth century is pre-eminently Augustinian, and neo-Augustinian. But this is a part of Hexter's failure to place *Utopia* in its proper philosophical and religious framework, for as I have pointed out (forthcoming in *Modern Language Notes*) his discussion and definition of Christian humanism fails to allow for ethical differences between a More and a Machiavelli, and fails to distinguish historically among the changing humanisms of 1450, 1500, and 1550. To say that the Christian humanists were "as ardently devoted to the literature of Christian antiquity as to the literature of pagan antiquity" is to put the cart before the horse; and when he writes that they were alike in their hopes of a "restoration of Gospel Christianity" we should not, of course, be led to infer that humanists like More had anything but profound respect for and devotion to the institutional character and authority of the Church. And, to be sure, not all the humanists were anti-intellectual or "hostile to the intellectualism represented by the theological and philosophic tradition of the European universities"; as Father Surtz has shown, the Oxford Reformers were closer than is thought to scholasticism.

Interestingly presented and challenging, this essay does not, then, present a full picture of the mind of More at the time *Utopia* was written, nor is the interpretation of the meaning of the work as balanced as that of Chambers.

RICHARD J. SCHOECK

Cornell University

The Hapsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914. By Arthur J. May. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 532. $6.00.)

The subject of this work is little known in the Anglo-Saxon world due to the forbidding language barriers. To do research in the history of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire it is necessary not only to master some of the most important languages of the polyglot state but also to plunge into a labyrinth of detail about conflicting political, social, economic, and cultural problems. Mr. May, with admirable courage, enters the dark forest with the enthusiasm of the pioneer and bravely blazes the way for others to follow. His information is tremendous. He offers as complete a story of the domestic and foreign problems of Austria-Hungary as it is possible in a single volume of this size. He has made a contribution to existing scholarship on this topic which will make his book a standard reference volume. And it is cheerful news to the student of eastern European affairs to learn that another volume will follow which will bring the story down to 1918.

On second thought it is, perhaps, a drawback that the author, in preparing his work, has attempted to give such a full account. First, it is too tiresome for those who wish to gain a comprehensive view to wade through such a maze of detail; secondly, as is inevitable in such matters, a great number of small mistakes have crept into the text. He slips up time and again on the diacritical marks of the foreign words. On top of these typographical mistakes comes such misinformation as, e.g., that the two national anthems of Hungary were composed by Liszt. In going into detailed descriptions of the cultural accomplishments of the many ethnographic groups in the monarchy, the author should have had his data checked more carefully.

And finally, after thumbing one's way through 484 pages of factual information, one wonders about the broader aspects, the unifying points of view or, shall we say, the synthesis. It is disappointing to find at the end of the volume that the author devoted only eight pages to a discussion of the historic forces and institutions which held the empire together. Even of these eight pages a considerable part is anecdotes. It is the typical case of not seeing the forest on account of the many trees. It is to be hoped that in the second volume Mr. May will give us a more unified presentation of the struggle between the main forces of the old and the new order.

ARPAD F. KOVACS

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Republican Ideas and the Liberal Tradition in France, 1870-1914. By John A. Scott. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 209. $3.00.)

Mr. Scott has added one more study to the sadly neglected field of French intellectual history. It is encouraging to find a greater number of scholars increasingly devoting their efforts to the history of ideas. This brief volume on the development of the liberal tradition in France prior to World War I supplements in a unique fashion other studies in the field of French political thought.

The work is divided into two general fields: the republican theories of what Mr. Scott calls the neo-Girondins, and the liberal thought of the neo-Jacobins. Classified as neo-Girondins are Charles Renouvier, Charles Secrétan, Henry Michel, Henri Marion, Émile Littré and Émile Foquet. This school represented the well-to-do liberal and industrial bourgeoisie who held to the theory that the Republic was the final development in the evolution of the democratic state. Renouvier, influenced by Charles Fourier and the writers of the Enlightenment, was convinced that the royalists and the Church were opposed to the true interests of society. He would have the liberal bourgeoisie in control of the state, relying upon the power of the reason rather than revolution to emancipate the individual. His work was carried on by Secrétan, Michel, and Marion. Émile Littré, whom Scott calls the parliamentary guide and practical advisor of liberal republicanism, developed, in a practical fashion, the basic philosophy of Renouvier. Littré inclined toward a parliamentary republic as the political basis of bourgeois rule. He had no faith in a workers' government and was distrustful of the proletariat. However, he expected the bourgeoisie to work toward a socially stable society which he considered necessary for industrial development.

The neo-Jacobins, who drew their support from petty property owners, small farmers, shopkeepers, and professional people as well as the proletariat, rejected the limited viewpoint of the neo-Girondins. Georges Clemenceau, the most prominent in this group, advocated social reformism in his early public life. France would be built upon the *petite bourgeoisie*, and a society would be created that would be free of clericalism and royalism. The neo-Jacobins attempted to reconcile laissez-faire with state intervention in industrial life. They were aided in their work by the development of the doctrine of *solidarité*. The solidarist theory attempted to reconcile the ideas of Christian liberalism and socialism; it stressed the belief that men are interdependent, that social concessions must be made to avoid any danger of revolution. Once the social balance became a reality, laissez-faire would return. Léon Bourgeois was the chief exponent of this school. His book, *Solidarité*, greatly influenced French republicanism in this period.

Mr. Scott purposely failed to include in his essay a study of the liberal republicanism of socialism. He concedes the pressure that socialism exerted upon various types of republican thought, but states that it failed to supplant them. It is the reviewer's opinion that socialism made a distinct contribution of its own to the evolution of liberal republicanism. However, Mr. Scott has written an admirable study enhanced by a carefully selected bibliography.

DONALD R. PENN

Georgetown University

Return to Chesterton. By Maisie Ward. (New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc. 1952. Pp. xxvi, 336. $4.50.)

When Maisie Ward's excellent biography of Chesterton first appeared in 1943, there were many who regretted that it was not longer, and who hoped that supplementary volumes, with more of his letters, would come later. This new volume will go far toward fulfilling that hope. The range of his interests and acquaintances was so wide that the amount of material is almost overwhelming, and the major task of his biographer is selection. The situation is complicated by his having become the object of a literary cult, so that there are some who will never be satisfied until all his writings are available and everything written to or about him has been collected, too. If such a project is ever undertaken it might sate even his more ardent disciples, for his output was prodigious. Though much of it was just journalism and a few of his books were pot-boilers, it is dangerous to dismiss any of his works on *a priori* grounds. Some of his best sayings are found in his less serious works, and the full corpus of his letters would probably reveal many more.

In this book we are given many views of Chesterton the man, rather than the writer and apologist, as he appeared to a number of people who knew him well at different periods in his life. One of his most attractive aspects was his capacity to win the affection of so many people with such varied backgrounds and on every age level. They were drawn by something more than his genius and literary gifts. His amazing generosity to many unimportant people explains much of their devotion, which was very real. The unimportant people were not the only ones who loved him, and very few important literary figures ever received as much genuine affection from their fellow writers as he did. All of them knew he was an extraordinary man, though he always sang the praises of the ordinary man. They differed among themselves, as this book shows, on the precise cause of a quality they regarded as an obvious fact. Perhaps, it is better simply to clarify him as a genius and let it go at that.

Though Chesterton enriched the lives of many he took a great deal from a few. Nothing is clearer in this book than the extent to which he depended on his wife and on his secretary, Dorothy Collins. Their devoted care prolonged his life, brought as much order into his affairs as he would allow, and protected him as much as possible from the wear and tear of everyday affairs. He was grateful, but he took it all for granted. He never understood the magnitude of their task. His lack of discipline was not due entirely to incapacity, and one is left wondering how much more he could have done if he had acquired more self-control. As a man and as a writer he lacked a certain type of discipline that a university education might have provided. A better educated man who wrote less might have been even more useful, but we must be grateful to him for having given us so much and to Maisie Ward for a second good book on him.

FLORENCE D. COHALAN

Cathedral College
New York City

Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945: From the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry. Series D (1937-1945), Volume IV. *The Aftermath of Munich, October 1938-March 1939.* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1951. Pp. lxxxv, 733. $2.75.)

A year of richly rewarding seminar work in Europe with Professor Maurice Baumont, one of the editors-in-chief of this project, has imparted to the reviewer a certain bias in favor of the latest collection of German diplomatic documents. Nevertheless, admission of a personal predilection, while a caveat, in no way detracts from the very substantial value of this fourth volume; indeed, one can do little more than echo the flattering endorsements accorded its immediate predecessor little over a year ago in this REVIEW (XXXVII, 198-199). However, the essentially anti-climactic character of the story narrated in the present volume robs it of the fire and drama which mark the prior publications.

Volume IV recounts the melancholy tale of that six-month interval between Munich and the final destruction of Czechoslovakia by Hitler on March 15, 1939, a half-year of diplomatic disenchantment during which such euphemistic verbalisms as "reactions" and "repercussions" were overworked in describing the jitters and uneasy consciences of Europe's non-Nazi leaders. At the time of Munich the Czech Foreign Minister, Kamil Krofta, had warned, "Today it is our turn, tomorrow it will be the turn of others" (p. 5). The warning became a prophesy which haunted both friend and foe of the Hitlerian Reich: who would be the next

victim? In the midst of her exultation that Munich had averted war, France was shaken by a tremor of uneasiness (p. 433) and as Italy's demands for Tunis became more strident, Frenchmen became increasingly apprehensive, recalling dolefully that dictatorial appetites were sharpened by conquests. *L'appetit vient en mangeant.* Italy was not spared misgivings, despite her links to Berlin, and Rome focused a worried eye on the Tyrol. Russia promptly jettisoned Litvinov's policy of collective security and turned her hopes for survival to a strengthened Red Army, a move correctly anticipated by von Tippelskirch in Moscow. Even more ominous for the future of peace was the prediction that the Soviets would probably seek an economic accord with Germany, steps toward which were actually taken in January, 1939, by Alexey Merekalov, the Russian ambassador to Berlin.

England, and specifically Chamberlain whom the Germans credited with having assumed "sole responsibility" for British policy during those critical days, suffered the cruelest torment of all. When it became painfully evident that Duff Cooper, Churchill, and Eden were right and that Chamberlain was wrong, when it could no longer be denied that the pillars of peace had been driven into quicksand at Munich a wave of "suppressed fury" swept the island kingdom. Thus, 1939 became England's year of decision and the estimate of British policy offered by Ambassador von Dirksen in London to the Wilhelmstrasse is an interesting case study in the strength and weakness of German official estimates of the world situation (p. 257).

From a Catholic standpoint the fifth chapter which deals with German-Vatican relations is all too brief but even the paucity of documents cannot obscure the hostility which existed. The Nazis openly wished for the death of Pius XI, but the accession of Cardinal Pacelli to the Papacy offered scant comfort to German strategists because of the "well-known" attitude of the new Pontiff to the Nazi regime (p. 597).

The very nature of a project such as this involves certain inconveniences. This volume is meaningful only when read in connection with its predecessors, and it is lamentable that the editors found no space in one of the numerous appendices for the Munich Pact itself around which this whole volume revolves. Nor do the clarifying notes fully indicate the relevance of previous documents, and this is particularly true of the Hossbach Memorandum of 1937 which had committed Hitler to armed conquest. In the analytical list of documents a few of the summaries are misleading and the editorial explanation of document 256 is a case in point. Above all, the documents continue to illustrate the difficulty of assessing the foreign policy of a country which relied more on party agents rather than its regular diplomats for guidance and execution of programs. Volume III, for example, clearly showed that Goering's special agent in

Madrid, Johannes Bernhard, was more influential than the German ambassador there, although the researcher is never given an opportunity to examine Herr Bernhard's reports. In this volume it would be dangerous to view German policy toward the Czechs through the eyes of the German ambassador to Prague. It is Henlein, the Sudeten Party leader, who is crucial to an appreciation of the Nazi program. The major strictures on the value of these documents are clearly not the fault of the editors; they merely illustrate the difficulties the modern historian faces in untangling the skein of contemporary affairs.

CLARENCE C. WALTON

University of Scranton

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Edited by Julian P. Boyd and others. Volume I, *1760-1776;* Volume II, *1777-1779;* Volume III, *1779-1780.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950-1951. Pp. lviii, 679; xxiv, 665; xxxiv, 672. $10.00 per volume.)

The general excellence of these first volumes of the Jefferson Papers is by now well known. Indeed, the most striking aspect of earlier reviews has been the desperate expedients to which their authors were driven to try to convey the superiority of this work as evidenced by its first volume. It has been compared, rather wildly, in importance to Diderot's *Encyclopedia* and in scholarship to the *Variorum Shakespeare.* Detailed comparisons to previous editions of Jefferson's works, such as David Potter made in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* of September, 1951, have indicated a measure of the distinction achieved here, but there is no substitute for a perusal of the volumes themselves. No reviewer can do proper justice to them, and this one will attempt only a brief description in the hope that this will suggest something of their high quality.

As interpreted by the editors, the term "papers" comprehends not only the items that Jefferson authored, or to the composition of which he contributed whether importantly or slightly, but also the immense collection of papers of which he was the recipient, including many that passed only casually through his hands. Some of these had at most a tangential connection with Jefferson while others, such as the Continental Association of 1774 in the drawing up of which he had no part and which he signed along with hundreds of others merely as a member of a county committee of enforcement, because of their ready accessibility elsewhere might have been omitted in their entirety. Yet this inclusiveness pays off consistently in the long run. In instances too numerous to mention we

are given not only documents that Jefferson wrote or received but nests of related documents, so that within these volumes (this is especially true of Volumes I and II) we have all the relevant items for various activities in which Jefferson took a part, great or minor. For example, the editors in treating the "Declaration of the Causes and Necessity for Taking Up Arms" of 1775 have included not only Jefferson's drafts but that of John Dickinson and the final resolution as adopted by the Continental Congress; in the case of the Virginia Constitution of 1776 besides Jefferson's three drafts there are Mason's Plans, the draft of the committee with amendments offered by the convention, and the Constitution as finally adopted, in short a commendably complete history of what happened to Jefferson's proposals (even, as in this case, when they were largely ignored). Clearly much of all this will be of interest primarily to Jefferson specialists, a host almost as numerous as the Lincoln grubbers, but neither the general run of historians nor the possibly chimerical "general public" whom the editors mention hopefully can carp at the results. For what we have, or will have when the last volume is completed, is as thorough a record as is humanly feasible of the extant documents, bewildering in their variety and scope, that shaped and affected the career of the most versatile and experienced of American public men.

Striking, too, are the editorial methods employed. These cannot be summarized in any brief space, but rarely have we had so complete and lucid a description of the techniques followed and the reasons for them as is given by Mr. Boyd in his remarks on this subject in Volume I. These are recommended reading to all scholars, whatever the depth of their interest in Jefferson, as being both an exposition of the most up-to-date editorial methods and as a measure of the advances made along these lines, both in standards of accuracy and thoroughness and in the use of modern aids to research, in just the fifty years since Jefferson's writings were last edited. It has been well said, incidentally, that *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* are a superb example of what is possible for historical scholarship in the age of microfilm. In presenting the various documents the editors have devised a highly effective system of notation. Certain important items or collections of items are preceded by an editorial note that is always thorough and often a major contribution to research. Individual documents, to the extent that seems necessary, are followed by notes as to sources including locations of variants, by supplementary explanations of background and interior references, and, lastly, by textual notes. The form in which all these are cast is consistent, easy to follow, and withal flexible. The general plan of the series is to present most—possibly four-fifths—of the papers in a chronological manner, reserving the last volumes for such things as the *Notes on Virginia*, the legal papers, the garden and farm books, etc. Yet chronology is never adhered to slavishly. Thus, the

last half of Volume II is devoted to a unified study of the revisal of the laws of Virginia between 1776 and 1786, although the volume nominally covers only the period from 1777 to June 18, 1779. One consequence of the generous concept of what constitutes Jefferson's papers and of the editorial methods used to elucidate them, is that we are constantly stumbling upon unexpected dividends of authoritative treatments of such topics as the Transylvania and other land companies' claims and of the disposition of Virginia's western lands in the Revolutionary period (both in Volume II). Fine scholarly essays modestly disguised as explanatory notes have been scattered prodigally throughout, and it is certain that the final product will modify and enlarge greatly our views not only of Jefferson but of the times in which he lived.

Little space is left to comment on the content of these volumes specifically. For the most part the documents here are well known although many of them have been difficult of access previously. It is a great service merely to have them collected and collated in a work readily available to all. Predictions as to which will prove the most valuable of the documents published are foolish, but I think that what will please most readers will be Jefferson's letters, the value of which Dumas Malone and other biographers have called attention to. It is wonderful to read his all too few early letters, those chatty, even gossipy, girl-conscious, and occasionally fatuous epistles. They not only form a sharp contrast to his later productions but remind us that this prodigious and accomplished man was once, too, a callow youth. Likewise the paucity of letters or papers relating to Jefferson's wife and mother suggests with finality what his most assiduous biographers have concluded, that we shall never know very much of his relationships with these two persons. In fact, the general scarcity of his papers down to 1775—they take up fewer than 160 pages of Volume I—reminds us to what extent a biography of the young Jefferson is a matter of making bricks without straw.

One cannot conclude without mentioning the excellent production that the Princeton University Press has accorded these volumes. Their format, with its beautifully designed and appropriately named Monticello type, is a delight to the eye and as great a credit to American bookmaking as the contents are to American scholarship. These first volumes leave no doubt—not that there ever was any—of the competence of Mr. Julian Boyd and his talented associates for the task they have undertaken. One may fervently hope that they will be granted the stamina and eyesight to complete what may be literally denoted a monumental enterprise.

JAMES EDMUND ROOHAN

Yale University

The Puritan Heritage. By George M. Stephenson. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1952. Pp. 282. $3.50.)

The first half of this book—by far its most valuable portion—is an admirable piece of Protestant devotional literature. Catholic readers will be impressed by Professor Stephenson's sincere espousal of the Puritan tradition; although they will certainly question his central thesis that Puritanism is the only genuinely American religion. His sympathetic delineation of such renowned revivalists as Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield, and Peter Cartwright, and his devout exposition of the case for Puritanism, Methodism, and revivalism should provide salutary reading for the Catholic student who is usually isolated from such strongly partisan works as this.

The second half of the book is a very sketchy treatise on Protestant apologetics, designed to illustrate how various Protestant societies have contributed to the growth of the United States. The failure of this half of the book to illustrate the general thesis may lead the reader to conclude that here several discreet classroom lectures on Protestant growth in America have been tied together. Throughout the book the author uses a curiously broad definition of Puritanism, including within that term such disparate elements as Methodism, Unitarianism, and Nativism. The work would be much less vulnerable to criticism if it were merely titled "The Protestant Heritage."

The book's running fire of criticism against the Catholic Church is more a compliment to Professor Stephenson as an ardent Calvinist than as a fair-minded historian. Even such allowance can hardly square some of the more noticeable errors in fact: citing Shakespeare in a list of Puritan authors (p. 7); accepting Peter Cartwright's citation of St. Paul as a man "without any previous theological training" (p. 82) who typified later unlettered revivalist preachers; and his opinion that "a deluge of Catholic immigrants put an end to the religious tolerance that [had] prevailed [in America] in the early nineteenth century" (p. 215). The book does not have any notes or scholarly apparatus to support its statements, and in many places the ambiguous style leaves the reader in doubt as to whether he is reading the opinions of the author or those of an earlier Protestant divine. Consider this sentence from page 146: "Catholic schools and colleges were inferior because they were taught by foreign nuns and Jesuits who were incapable of giving a correct history of the country and who could not teach sciences without exposing their faith and morals to imminent danger." By its frequent inclusion of such old wives' tales, the book forfeits any claim to scholarly stature. This is all the more unfortunate since there is a genuinely respectable American Puritan heritage, one which we would do well to appreciate. Harvard's

Samuel Eliot Morison has described it fairly and accurately in his earlier (1936) and more profound work *The Puritan Pronaos.* Informed Protestant readers of the present volume will be offended by its loose terminology as well as by its obvious chauvinism; and Catholics will be alienated by its habitual unfairness.

JAMES P. SHANNON

New Haven, Connecticut

Impressions respecting New Orleans by Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe. Diary and Sketches, 1818-20. Edited with an introduction and notes by Samuel Wilson, Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. xxiv, 196. 67 illustrations. $8.75.)

When Benjamin Henry Latrobe came from England to Norfolk, Virginia, in 1796 a new era in the history of the architecture of the United States began. The first professionally trained architect of great capacities to work in this country, he founded professional practice here, broke the sway of the Adamesque carpenter-architects and introduced the Greek Revival. During the period of his American activity, which continued until his death in 1820, he kept detailed records of his undertakings, which included the building of the capitol in Washington, the cathedral in Baltimore, the Bank of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, as well as a series of Regency mansions. Because he was a keen observer, with wide interests and an acid tongue, and also one of the greatest of all architectural draughtsmen, Latrobe's journals and sketchbooks are of the first importance, not only for the history of his profession but also for the study of American civilization and its impact upon a sensitive and thoughtful European.

Luckily many of these papers have been preserved by his descendants and eventually they will probably all be published in connection with a full-length biography of this great, early nineteenth-century architect. In the meantime we are fortunate in having a new critical edition of Latrobe's Louisiana journals. They constitute an almost day-by-day account of the last year and a half of his life, for they begin on December 17, 1818, when he left Baltimore by ship for New Orleans and continue until August 20, 1820, less than a month before his death on September 3.

Latrobe was at this time installing a water system for the city and building the central tower of St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans. He was in daily contact with a great many important people in Louisiana. His pages are filled with gossip about them and comments on the work he was doing, in addition to the detailed observations characteristic of a scholarly tourist of the period. More significant, however, are his brief

remarks upon the French mode of building and the specific monuments of New Orleans with some interesting digressions on fashions in tomb-designing and other professional matters. The architect saw the drama of the changing atmosphere of New Orleans at the time, when the stately and picturesque elements of French living were daily vanishing before the onslaughts of brash and hustling Yankees with money. He felt, too, the full pathos of these changes and symbolized them well in the anecdote of an Ohio carpenter enthusiastically building replicas of the stiff, dark, row houses of the Anglo-Saxon East to replace the cool and rambling traditional dwellings of New Orleans.

Samuel Wilson, the outstanding historian of the early architecture of Louisiana, has provided exhaustive notes on the authorship and history of the buildings mentioned in the text. He has set Latrobe and his short-lived, architect son, Henry, against the background of the French builders of the period, Latour, Laclotte and Buisson, whose little known work he has succeeded in identifying, largely through careful study of notorial records. His selection of illustrations, which range from Latrobe's architectural renderings through landscapes and caricatures to zoological plates and shipboard sketches, reveals, perhaps, more than the journals themselves the wonderful versatility of the architect.

This reviewer took particular interest in Latrobe's remarks upon Julia Plantou's famous painting of the Peace of Ghent, one of the first American historical allegories, which travelled about the country making money for its author, the wife of a French dentist who practiced in Philadelphia. Mr. Wilson's quotation of an entry in the *Louisiana Courier* for January 20, 1819, which discloses that Madame Plantou was a pupil of the great David, more than makes up for his failure to mention my study of the Peace of Ghent, published in the *Art Quarterly* in 1949. The volume is handsomely printed and the illustrations are strikingly reproduced.

ROBERT C. SMITH

University of Pennsylvania

Captain Sam Grant. By Lloyd Lewis. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1950. Pp. viii, 512. $6.00.)

Biographers of Grant early exploited the romantic contrast between the years before and after 1861. Abbott, Deming, Dana and Wilson, and other campaign chroniclers of 1868, muted the circumstances of his resignation from the army but played up his sudden emergence from obscurity. In 1885, Poore and Tiffaney's odd *Life* inaugurated a franker treatment of his drinking, but, together with an emphasis upon his supposed dire poverty in the late 1850's, this only magnified in the hands of subsequent biographers the romantic nature of his recovery from a failure variously

pictured as mild, seedy, or downright dismal. Recent students—Hesseltine, Conger, Fuller, etc.—have most often concentrated on his career after 1861. Thus his life has commonly been made a variant of the American success story with little effort expended to give any reasonable account of what the first forty years of it contributed to Grant the general or Grant the President. The weakness of his numerous biographers in this respect has been especially striking for they usually analyzed both his early failure and later success in terms of his character rather than of his circumstances. Some few, among them W. E. Woodward, made a serious attempt to solve this problem, but Woodward's work, while spotted with sharp insights, was marred by obtrusive pseudo-psychological explanations.

Even the late Lloyd Lewis, as he indicates in his delightful *Letters from Lloyd Lewis*, which ought to be read by both students of Grant and all prospective biographers, at first thought him a "mystery." Further painstaking research in combination with Lewis' gifts for imaginative re-creation of the past revealed an early "Sam" Grant whose behavior, character, abilities, and weaknesses, carefully examined, offered a perfectly intelligible explanation of how and why he could capitalize on his opportunities in the western theater. Lewis' study of the first thirty-nine years of Grant's life is at once the most satisfactory and exciting work on the man since his own *Memoirs*. The traditional view of Grant's extreme poverty and failure is convincingly modified; his well-known dislike of army life and textbook tactics, something of a paradox in previous treatments, is balanced by the recognition of his careful professional interest in the strategy and maneuvers of the Mexican War. Lewis' is an intensely personal "life," one that treats the "times" not in broad, unrelated strokes but as they touched Grant himself. The general setting is, nonetheless, always sufficiently inclusive with the result that Lewis gives us, among other things, an excellent sketch of boyhood in a small town in the early Middle West, a fascinating study of the West Point of the 1840's, and the best secondary account of the Mexican War as participants saw it that this reviewer knows of. It is, too, a dramatic book. Personalities are introduced much as the characters in a novel and with an eye on the role they will play later in Grant's life, yet there is neither distortion nor misleading anticipation of the future. In Lewis, Grant had an ideal biographer: objective, patient, and completely honest; always sympathetic and possessed of a happy enthusiasm, so evident in the aforementioned *Letters* and so often absent in more academic works. One puts down *Captain Sam Grant* with genuine regret that Mr. Lewis was unable to finish the task he had begun so superbly.

James Edmund Roohan

Yale University

Mr. Lincoln's Contemporaries. An Album of Portraits by Mathew B. Brady. By Roy Meredith. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1951. Pp. xii, 233. $6.00.)

This is a book of pictures in which the portraits seem to have decided the course of the accompanying text. It would appear that the 172 portraits—only four represent unlabeled groups in Civil War action and one the battleground dead at Gettysburg—were chosen and then the narrative written so that the names of the subjects portrayed would appear on a nearby page. Mr. Meredith, however, does profess to have tried to select pictures showing the subjects at times closest to the events as described. Whatever the procedure followed, it has made for a meandering account under the general divisions of adventurers, reformers, conservatives, entertainers, and then in the last five chapters the politicians and military men of the war and early reconstruction period. Occasionally in a kind of admission of defeat the pictures carry their own explanatory paragraph when it has not been possible to work the subject into the author's text.

The written history in the volume adds nothing to present knowledge, but is a light, easy, oversimplified, and jumpy survey of the times. The author is a Mathew Brady expert and this, of course, is evident in his introduction which like all the work, however, remains undocumented. The photographs are samples of the ever interesting work of the famous Civil War photographer, but an indication might well have been given as to which were certainly his and which were done by members of his staffs. The selection of theatrical people and the great chess player, Paul Morphy, not to mention the inevitable and justly famed portrait of Walt Whitman, brings home aspects of life in that period which are too easily overlooked.

Many may have something to say about the choice of portraits. Those interested in American Catholic history will be pleased to see fine pictures of Pierre-Jean DeSmet, S.J., the Indian missionary, and of Theobald Mathew, the Capuchin temperance crusader. They may be more surprised to find the Jesuit botany teacher at Georgetown College, James Curley. They should be shocked to notice the absence of the most important Catholic leader of the Lincoln period, Archbishop John Hughes of New York, of whom there is a Brady portrait in the National Archives collection, and, incidentally, one that is in better condition than some of those used. Hughes was so much a part of the times of the contemporaries of Mr. Lincoln and so many of his public friends appear in this book that there should have been no trouble fitting him into it.

HENRY J. BROWNE

The Catholic University of America

Society and Thought in Modern America. A Social and Intellectual History of the American People from 1865. By Harvey Wish. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1952. Pp. xii, 618. $5.00.)

Professor Wish is much more at home in the period after the Civil War than he was in earlier America. This is best shown in his excellent and extensive critical bibliography at the end of this volume; incidentally, this bibliography makes up only in part for a want of references and identifications in the body of the text. Wish is at his best in describing the social life of the American people and probably at his weakest in evaluating the literary forms. His final chapters have more than their share of uncritical narration; recent history is difficult to understand and to describe but some passages, especially the description of recent movies, seem to have been composed from the press releases of the studios.

As Howard Munford has said, the Civil War cut a swath across the cultural history of the United States, and those leaders among the pre-war thinkers who survived seemed like the fruit of last season which forgot to drop from the tree. New currents dominated the social and cultural life of the nation. Consequently, Professor Wish begins his volume with the effects of the war on the social and intellectual life of the South. Here he excels, except for his use of the word "liberals" which could have only a relative meaning in the South that was trying to preserve as much of its pre-war civilization as possible. From the South Wish moves into the West, and the rural North, without sufficient notice that the post-war frontier reached its peak during the same period that the new South was being formed. He then takes up the problems of urbanization, industrialization, and the new immigration. The author is a bit rough on the later immigrant. He is not well informed theologically and seems to think that the evolutionary theory changed theological principles; also, his explanation of American pragmatism is a bit indistinct. Dewey cannot be exempted from the influences that produced the "practical" character of much public education in the later United States, even though his followers have carried his philosophy beyond his initial applications.

As in all textbook writing for the period since the Civil War, Wish tends to depart from chronology for subject divisions and follows his divisions serially until 1917. Unfortunately, this makes for a confused picture at any definite period. The unity, for instance, of the Progressive Era is lost and its cultural importance is not properly portrayed. The unity given the picture after 1917 is better, but neither the information nor the treatment is as sound as that of the earlier decades. Nevertheless, this is undoubtedly a good textbook and a useful aid for the study of American social history since the Civil War.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

University of Notre Dame

American Diplomacy, 1900-1950. By George F. Kennan. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 146. $2.75.)

This book, a series of six lectures given to students at the University of Chicago, presents a philosophical approach to history. Unfortunately, the author, our present ambassador to Soviet Russia, is by his own admission, not an historian. More unfortunately still, he belongs to the Nietzsche school of philosophy which asserts that the state is "beyond good and evil."

Mr. Kennan's *Weltanschaug* permeates his entire book. He abhors "the carrying over into the affairs of states of the concepts of right and wrong." With this as a basic premise he can spend several paragraphs portraying Secretary of State John Hay weaving his web of deceit, and wind up by characterizing him as "a great American gentleman." Logically following out his own twisted philosophical views, Ambassador Kennan chides America for having taken an ethical approach to World War I; he would have plunged into the war as soon as it became apparent that American blood would be needed to save the British Empire from defeat. In his review of the half century of American foreign policy from 1900 to 1950. Mr. Kennan reveals a dangerous naïveté with regard to communism. His assertion that had Lenin lived he might have reconciled conflicting forces "to the ultimate benefit of Russian society," is reminiscent of a school of deluded liberals headed by Thomas W. Lamont (of the House of Morgan); Lamont declared in 1947 that Mao-ze-tung's "Northern Armies may be ranked as Chinese first and Communists second."

It must not be thought that Ambassador Kennan is alone in his adherence to the philosophical tenets of the Nietzsche-Hitler-Stalin School; he has, unfortunately, many companions in the American historical profession. For example, Thomas A. Bailey of Stanford University recently remarked that, "Franklin Roosevelt repeatedly deceived the American people during the period before Pearl Harbor . . . and who shall say that posterity will not thank him for it?" Felix Morley in a series of lectures at Wesleyan University in 1951 emphasized the fact that, "the State is an amoral instrumentality without a conscience and with no inherent sense of right and wrong."

George F. Kennan (alias Mr. X) has already given many years of his life to official duty in the foreign service of the United States. He bore a share of the responsibility for forming the foreign policy of the United States in the difficult years following World War II. There is a maxim in philosophy which reads: *nemo dat quod non habet,* and it would seem that Kennan simply does not have it. His contributions toward the formation of a sound foreign policy for the United States cannot but be noxious.

HERBERT J. CLANCY
Canisius College

The United States and Spain: An Interpretation. By Carlton J. H. Hayes. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1951. Pp. 198. $2.75.)

This book is a mature and thoughtful interpretation of American diplomatic relations with Spain from 1776 to 1951 with special emphasis on the period from 1931 to 1951. Dr. Hayes is singularly well equipped to write the present volume. His numerous monographs and scholarly articles have earned him pre-eminence among American historiographers and his work as American ambassador to Spain from 1942 to 1945 won him grateful thanks from his superiors.

In his summary sketch of American foreign policy *vis-à-vis* Spain from 1776 to 1900 Professor Hayes is much too kind to his native land. This is undoubtedly due both to the limitations of space and to the desire to concentrate more on the period from 1931 to the present. The result is that our nineteenth-century pagan philosophy of Manifest Destiny—so apparent in our tactics toward the Floridas and Cuba—goes unchallenged. However, when Dr. Hayes treats of the years 1931 to 1951, he writes with a lucidity that is founded on an abundance of documentary evidence. After much study and thought the author concludes that there were but two motives that should have inspired the protagonists in the Spanish Civil War. One should have reasoned: I defend the Republicans because I am pro-Communist or I sympathize with the Nationalists because I am anti-Communist. *Non datur tertium.*

The list of present-day bolshevist Iron Curtain dictators, or would-be dictators, who served their apprenticeship in Civil War Spain reads like an Homeric catalogue of ships. Thorez, Marty, Togliatti, Longo, Dimitrov, Gottwald—all of these and many others won their spurs in the techniques of world conquest in war-torn Spain.

The problem presented by the diplomatic revolution that occurred in 1945 is but indicated by Professor Hayes. It consists in this: what adequate explanation can be given that will account for the *volte face* on the part of France, Great Britain, and the United States toward Spain from 1945 on? For during the years 1939 to 1944 Georges Bonnet, Winston Churchill, and Franklin Roosevelt were fulsome in their praise of Franco Spain. Did Spain suddenly become a menace to world peace in 1945? Professor Hayes merits the congratulations of students of history everywhere for his courageous and successful effort to shed light on a very confused subject.

HERBERT J. CLANCY

Canisius College

Back Door to War: The Roosevelt Foreign Policy, 1933-1941. By Charles Callan Tansill. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1952. Pp. xxi, 690. $6.50.)

Revisionist writing is bound by its very nature to produce controversial books. So it is with a volume that is currently eliciting widespread attention. Professor Tansill's *Back Door to War* has provided those who disliked the late President Roosevelt and all his works with considerable material to strengthen their animus. It is his implied thesis that Roosevelt's unholy machinations were responsible for the entry of the United States into World War II. Nowhere is the reader explicitly told that this is the author's position but by suggestion and implication it is made quite clear. Over and above this, one is informed that Roosevelt was also responsible for the broadening of the Nazi-Polish conflict of 1939 into World War II. As evidence of the view that Roosevelt was to blame for his country's going to war in 1941 and that this was a criminal thing to do, Dr. Tansill says openly that, "It seems quite possible that the Far Eastern Military Tribunal brought to trial the wrong persons. It might have been better if the tribunal had held its sessions in Washington" (p. 629). On pages 554-555 it is asserted, in proof of the statement made above, that Roosevelt was guilty of turning the Nazi assault against Poland into World War II by his bolstering of the British and French, that "Nowadays it seems evident that the real Mad Hatter was Franklin D. Roosevelt who pressed Chamberlain to give promises to the Poles when there was no possibility of fulfilling them."

It is also unmistakably clear that it is Professor Tansill's opinion that the United States should have refrained from entrance into World War II, a position that a majority of Americans did not share at the time nor since. If one can overlook the emotional overtones of much of this book (and that is a large order), one is unable to accept the position that the United States had no business becoming involved in the war. A world dominated by a victorious Axis would not have been a pleasant place for Americans. Just how long the people of this country could survive in such a world is problematic, but there can be little doubt that survival would hinge upon a regimentation which would make the sacrifices of World War II and those of its aftermath pale by comparison. Self-defense alone made necessary American involvement. Yet even more important, justice and charity also clearly dictated that the fight against Axis aggression was one for the American people. Where Tansill is on his soundest ground is in his justifiable criticism of the actual manner in which the United States became a belligerent. But this is accidental and not essential, unfortunate as it was. Here Roosevelt's admirers will always be hard put to provide a credible defense.

While this reviewer cannot accept the position of the author and regrets the occasional flashes of emotionalism and bitterness which deflect from the excellence of the writing, nevertheless, he does recognize the scholarship and exhausting effort which went into the making of this volume. Professor Tansill has painstakingly examined a great deal of unpublished material in the files of the Department of State and can take pride in the fact that he is the first historian who "has fully utilized" these materials. For this he is to be commended; but with the conclusions which are drawn from the evidence the reader is entitled to disagree.

LEONARD MAHONEY

Weston College

The World Crisis and American Foreign Policy: The Challenge to Isolation, 1937-1940. By William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason. (New York: Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper & Bros. 1952. Pp. xv, 794. $7.50.)

Down to the destroyers-for-bases agreement of September, 1940, there is in this one volume the most complete account of the events which affected the course of American diplomacy on the pre-Pearl Harbor side of World War II. More volumes are to come. If the continuation is to be on the scale projected here, with the same attention to source material both within and outside of official archives, it promises to become the standard reference work on the war. The style is very restrained, without dramatics, with no attempt to point up great personalities, and with very little argument. Apparently the authors believe that their purpose—which might be described as an attempt to jam the broadcasts of the "revisionists"—can best be achieved without any ostentatious justifications of past policy. They were privileged to examine the whole record in the Department of State, the diaries of some war-time officials, some of the Roosevelt Papers, and to collate carefully all of this with available printed materials from foreign sources. The reader discovers again that the study of our diplomatic history has become equivalent to what used to be distinguished as international relations.

No work so comprehensive can be called superficial, but the impression one gets is distinctly that of a broad surface account. Depth of interpretation is negligible; the book's chief merit is its calm, orderly presentation of facts. But the orderly array of facts and the detached treatment of issues which were then the subjects of explosive debate suggest a much more reasonable development of war-time policy than, in fact, took place. A confession of the limitations accepted by the authors is implied in the

early admission that it is "well-nigh impossible" to penetrate beyond generalities and to "determine or demonstrate the President's outlook, reasoning and attitude on specific questions or policies." The reader may conclude that lost memoranda or unrecorded private conversations—or material still undisclosed—would reveal much more; but to take only what is supplied here would justify the inference that President Roosevelt was less concerned about establishing a reasoned outlook and a settled policy than he was anxious not to lose contact with public opinion. Isolationism was an ebb tide which might leave the administration, which had countenanced the Johnson Act and the neutrality laws, in a high and dry position. The problem was to know how fast the tide was running. Equal importance was attached to keeping war or preparations for a better defensive posture from interfering with the "social gains" established by the New Deal. Far from conspiring with others to drag the United States into war, it would appear that, up to the point that marks the end of this volume, the President may even have shared with many zealots the belief that aid to the allies would be the best means of keeping us out of war.

If the continued story is meant to be a description of the evolution of an American policy one can only conclude from a perusal of this first part that the work will fail to reveal any such thing. The matter so far offered indicates no more than the responses to the chief stimuli provided Americans from abroad—fear and hope. Honest reporting would preclude an acceptance of such a record as one of statesmanship.

JOHN T. FARRELL

The Catholic University of America

Closing the Ring: The Second World War. Volume V. By Winston S. Churchill. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1951. Pp. xvi, 749. $6.00.)

The two big things in this volume of the Former Naval Person's recollections are the Italian campaign and the Teheran conference of the Big Three. Since both events have ever since the war been items in controversy the reader who is concerned with all of the implications of the development of grand strategy will wish to search these pages carefully with regard for the background of the great cross-channel (Overlord) operation on the very eve of which development the book closes. Rome was captured just two days before General Eisenhower launched his expedition from the southern coast of England, and the necessary involvement of large German forces in Italy at that time completely vindicated the British Prime Minister's insistence upon the utility of steady pressure in this "third front" area as a means of drawing off German strength—

away from Russia so that Stalin's offensives would be more effective, and away from the north of France so as to facilitate that "second front" about which all of those participating in the November, 1943, Teheran conference were so much concerned. About the difficulties Churchill had in securing agreement for a concentration of forces in the Mediterranean, especially with the American planners whom he dubs "pedants" on the subject of the date for launching Overlord, the struggle it was to convince President Roosevelt that he should not fritter away essential landing craft for operations in Burma when they could be used to better advantage to implement action in Italy, and the British complaint that a desire to maintain a flexible date for starting Overlord did not convict them of not having their hearts in the project, about these and many coincidental points the Prime Minister and grand rhetorician has had his say. He has driven his arguments home effectively. It is possible to agree with him and to admit that it was a misfortune that his success in persuading others was not even greater at the time, but one wishes that his main points could have been conceded beforehand so that this book could afford more appraisals than arguments, more analysis of Big Three "unity" than self-justification. At this date few Americans need to be persuaded that Roosevelt was fallible, or that any justification is required for a difference of opinion with the man they called Uncle Joe.

On the other hand, readers of Chester Wilmot's recent criticism of American strategic concepts in *The Struggle for Europe* will be interested to note that it was the American President, not the British Prime Minister, who first advanced the idea of moving from Italy's central area toward an Istrian front, the proposal having been made before the Big Three meeting as an alternative plan to an invasion of the Riviera, either one to be made in co-ordination with Overlord. Churchill quickly took up the proposal and made use of it in subsequent conversations with Stalin, but he records here no strenuous efforts to maintain the alternative to the Riviera approach. Later, and again because he wished to keep operations flexible, he would oppose a strict fulfillment of agreement to invade the south of France. It is quite remarkable that there is nowhere mention of that phrase, "the soft underbelly of the Axis," which suggested to so many during 1943 that as a strategist Churchill was more interested in opening up the Balkans than he was in coming to grips with the enemy in northern Europe. Throughout the volume the impression is given that purely military considerations were everywhere kept to the fore, and if, by implication, the author suggests that he deliberately subordinated political interests, there is no attempt to accuse either one of his Big Three colleagues of having them in mind. This saves all his arguments from complications, but is it not legitimate to infer some second thoughts? Or did the British leader have no more fears of post-war Russia than

did Roosevelt? This is hard to believe, but the pages on Teheran conclude with some reflections which, positing the force of the common enemy, argue the necessity for unity on essentials to overcome that force: political aspects "were at once more remote and speculative," and, "It would not have been right at Teheran for the Western democracies to found their plans upon suspicions of the Russian attitude in the hour of triumph and when all her dangers were removed" (p. 405). Also, he makes it quite clear that as much as Roosevelt he set a great store by the assurances of Stalin's co-operation in co-ordinated offensives, and by the willingness of the Russians to enter the war against Japan after the defeat of Hitler. He told Smuts of South Africa that he expected that in any event British and American power would balance that of post-war Russia. Germany was to be partitioned, but only if it meant the detachment of Prussia and the re-creation of something like the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, while Poland must be truly independent after shrinking in the East and growing in the West. Within a United Nations structure there would have to be a United Europe. "I do not feel any break in the continuity of my thought in this immense sphere. But vast and disastrous changes have fallen upon us in the realm of fact. The Polish frontiers exist only in name, and Poland lies quivering in the Russian-Communist grip. Germany has indeed been partitioned, but only by a hideous division into zones of military occupation. About this tragedy, it can only be said, *'it cannot last.'*"

JOHN T. FARRELL

The Catholic University of America

LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

Bartolomé de Las Casas. Bookman, Scholar and Propagandist. By Lewis Hanke. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 119. $3.50.)

The material published in this volume was first presented as the Rosenbach Lectures at the University of Pennsylvania. Since the author promises that this work terminates his researches and reflections on the Bishop of Chiapa, all Latin American historians will regret that it is not a complete study of that controversial figure. Instead the author intends merely to view Las Casas as a bookman, scholar, and propagandist. This promise is fulfilled.

Professor Hanke turns first to Las Casas, the bookman and scholar. The author indicates the vast learning of Las Casas, his mastery of ancient

and contemporary literature, and his passion for collecting first-hand information. Thereupon, each of the many published works of the friar are examined in turn and the value of each is indicated briefly.

The second section of the volume raises the delicate issue of Las Casas, the propagandist. The author hastens to explain that he uses the term in its earlier and more honest usage when it signified an "effort directed systematically toward the gaining of public support for an opinion or a course of action" (p. 38). This kind of propaganda relies on a campaign of truth and enlightenment and eschews the dissemination of lies or "the smear technique" (p. 37) to achieve its purpose. The outstanding propaganda piece of the Bishop of Chiapa was his *Very Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* published in 1552. Mr. Hanke devotes most of the remainder of this section to a study of the effects produced by this small treatise in both Europe and the Americas down to the present day. How effective this single effort of Las Casas was may be seen from this statement: "The great majority of English-speaking people of the world today, however, have a deep-rooted feeling that Spaniards are a cruel people. This feeling must be attributed in considerable part to the accusations of Las Casas, printed in Seville in 1552" (p. 58). A short concluding chapter furnishes a survey of research now in progress on Las Casas throughout the world. It concludes with the author's plea to the Spanish nation to recognize Las Casas as an authentic son who brought glory to Spain by his struggle for justice on behalf of the Indian.

This book is a pleasant little volume. It is written with charm and grace, and the University of Pennsylvania Press has issued it in an attractive format and enriched the text with several plates. While the reader will certainly enjoy these features, he may also well be displeased by the excessive admiration of the author for his subject. It is difficult to see how a calm appraisal would bestow the accolade of scholar upon a passionate and opinionated friar who harped continually on a thesis with only one string and whose "passion shines forth in all his writings, and it is his passion that has survived the centuries" (p. 36). No one expects that a scholar should be a bloodless automaton without personal emotions or prejudices; neither, however, does one expect that an outstanding quality of an historical scholar should be his passion.

Joined with the highly emotional style of Las Casas is a basic defect in the purpose of the bishop's works. As the author of this volume points out (p. 32) Las Casas wrote his history with a thesis, conceived beforehand, whose validity the bishop never doubted. Indeed, it may be said, that he did not gather material in order to arrive at a conclusion; Las Casas collected information to demonstrate a conclusion already arrived at on grounds which are beyond the range of history and used his citations merely as a club to beat down the doubters and opponents. This method

hardly befits a scholar. However, this reviewer objects to the bestowal of the honorable title of scholar upon the Dominican friar chiefly because of the manner in which he used his sources. On the whole this is a difficult topic to investigate because the originals seem generally to have vanished after Las Casas had done with them. However, Fabié in the second volume of his *Vida y escritos de Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, a work mentioned with approval by the author of the volume under review, published two copies of the *Very Brief Account:* one, a manuscript copy of 1548, the other is the published version of 1552. Fabié states that Las Casas was the author of both. A lengthy comparison would be out of place here, but even a brief one is instructive. In 1548, Las Casas kills 10,000,000 Indians near Mexico City, in 1552 only 4,000,000; in 1548, Alvarado slew 1,000 youths in Mexico City, in 1552 he kills 2,000; in 1548, 12,000,000 Indians were slain in Naco and Honduras, in 1552 only 2,000,000; in 1548, more than 6,000,000 Indians were slain in Guatemala, in 1552 only 4-5,000,000; in 1548 many Indians were enslaved in Nicaragua, in 1552 the number is exactly 500,000. These are a few examples of the many discrepancies regarding the number of victims of Spanish cruelty found in the two copies. Why did the bishop change his figures so radically? Since Las Casas had left America some years before the dates of either version, and especially since the friar maintained that some of the figures were based on information supplied to him by witnesses who are the same for both versions, it would seem hardly possible that the change in the numbers was the result of new information. A fairer conclusion would seem to be that Las Casas did not exaggerate the number of victims, he simply selected a number at random as long as it was large enough to fit in with his thesis and to create the desired impression.

Even more enlightening is a comparison of the documentary quotations found in the two copies. Both contain two lengthy quotations, one from a letter of the Bishop of Santa Marta and the other from a memorial of Marcos de Niza. It is important to note that in both the 1548 and the 1552 versions, Las Casas insists expressly that he is quoting the exact words (*palabras formales*) of his authorities. One would naturally expect that if Las Casas were a scholar, the quotations in both copies would agree word for word; yet in neither instance do we find such agreement. The bishop's letter fares not too badly, but Niza's words suffer a marked alteration. It cannot be said, perhaps, that there is a substantial change in the meaning of Niza's protest, but there certainly is a marked improvement in the wording with the result that the force and emphasis of Niza's testimony are masterfully increased in the 1552 version. Hardly a phrase found in the 1548 copy remains unchanged in the 1552 edition. Yet in both instances, Las Casas solemnly assures the readers that these are the exact words of Niza, authenticated by Bishop Zumárraga. Maybe Las

Casas did not falsify the testimonies of the Bishop of Santa Marta and of Niza, but he certainly did deliberately corrupt their quotations and then denied that he had done so. If Las Casas treated these testimonies with such scant respect, what assurance have we that he did not do likewise with the other authorities whom he cites, whose originals have disappeared after the bishop quoted them? At any rate, it is the firm conviction of this reviewer that no scholar would treat his sources in this way.

Equally difficult is it to see that Las Casas was a propagandist in the honest meaning of that term, if his major effort in this regard, the *Very Brief Account*, was "an unbridled denunciation of Spanish cruelty and oppression of the Indians, full of questionable statistics and harsh accusations" (p. 4), as it undoubtedly was. Even a Las Casas cannot justify the devious means detailed in the preceding paragraphs by a noble purpose. Much less can the author of this volume justify the use made of the *Very Brief Account* by Raleigh, Bolívar, and the Cuban revolutionaries of 1898 as honest propaganda. For it was precisely the unbridled denunciation and the questionable statistics which made this work such a fit weapon to their hands. Nor can these men plead the excuse of Las Casas that they were defending innocent Indians. They were interested only in using the passionate condemnations of the Spanish conquest to stigmatize before the world the entire Spanish enterprise in the Americas with the bloody label applied by Las Casas to the conquest and to reap therefrom political advantage. In other words, it was the "smear technique," and the author's failure to point this out plainly, seriously weakens his final plea to Spaniards to accept Las Casas as their own. Perhaps, a second plea would also have been in place; to advise the English-speaking peoples to go to a more reliable author than Las Casas when they desire information on the work of Spain in the Americas.

ANTONINE S. TIBESAR

The Catholic University of America

Motolinía's History of the Indians of New Spain. Translated and edited by Elizabeth Andros Foster. (Berkeley: Cortés Society. 1950. Pp. x, 294.)

Elizabeth Andros Foster has done an invaluable service to students of the period of the conquest of Mexico with her splendid translation of Motolinía's *History of the Indians of New Spain.* This classic monument of the colonial era was written by a contemporary of Cortés, Fray Toribio de Benavides, otherwise known as Motolinía. One of the "Twelve Apostles of New Spain," he was among that first group of Franciscan missionaries to arrive after the conquest. Alert, aggressive, intellectually curious, he

plunged with a vengeance into the work of the conversion of the Indians. The abuse and maltreatment of the conquered people by the Spaniards disturbed him almost immediately. Never shying from a fight, he clashed frequently with both civil and religious authorities over the matter. He became a staunch defender of their rights on all occasions, but, curiously enough, he did not see eye to eye with Las Casas, whom he knew personally having met him in Guatemala. The modern scholar is puzzled by the savagery of his attacks on "The Defender of the Indians."

Motolinía was a man of insatiable curiosity. It is for this quality that the modern student of early Mexico is most grateful to him. From the time of his arrival in June, 1524, he began to keep notes on the customs and history of the Indians with whom he came into contact. Since his travels took him over much of Mexico and into Guatemala and Yucatan, his observations are invaluable. Nothing was too trivial to merit his attention. He speaks about the Indian customs and their history; he makes observations about their religious rites, their sacrificial ceremonies, their feasts; the countryside through which he traveled; geography, flora, and fauna. All of this he sandwiches delightfully with an account of the conversion of the Mexican peoples. Fortunately for the historian, his interests were universal and genuine.

Despite his many duties as missionary and later as provincial of the Franciscans of New Spain, and after many years of note-taking and working in his spare time, Motolinía finished his *History of the Indians of New Spain* in 1541. It was published some time before 1550, but Las Casas made use of it in manuscript form while writing his *Apologetica historia de las Indias*. Mendieta and Alonso de Zurita also used Motolinía's manuscripts, the former in his *Historia eclesiástica Indiana* and the latter in his *Relación*.

CHARLES W. SPELLMAN

University of Florida

Iturbide of Mexico. By William Spence Robertson. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 361. $6.00.)

It is a pleasant task to review the work of an author whose breadth of background, meticulous care in documentation, and care for objectivity are beyond criticism. Professor Robertson has compiled in this volume a lifetime of association with and research into the life and work of the first Emperor of Mexico, Agustín de Iturbide, and he approaches his task with the same care that characterizes his other well-known biographical studies of Latin American leaders. Documentation for this volume is

taken from the archives of many nations of Europe and the Americas in quantity far exceeding that which the ordinary researcher would feel necessary to write an adequate biography. The thirty-four pages of bibliography bear testimony to this. Beyond this, Professor Robertson makes the most excellent use of his materials, taking care not to try to have them prove too much, particularly in the several areas of Iturbide's career which are matters of violent controversy. In this regard extensive reference is made to secondary works to demonstrate the extent of the difference of opinion on many phases of the life of Agustín I.

Beginning with the Creole background of Iturbide, his early years are carefully traced, following his movement as a royalist officer up the ladder to the rank of colonel. The character of Iturbide's cruel actions when he aided in suppressing the early independence movements are not hidden, nor are they raised so high as to obscure the reasons Iturbide had for his actions. Professor Robertson develops an excellently balanced case in the accusations and counter-accusations which preceded his resignation from the royal service. Again, by slow, careful analysis the changing position of Iturbide from a royalist to a patriot is developed to the time of the adoption of the Plan of Iguala, exploding at that point, the myth of the supposed meeting of Guerrero and Iturbide.

The role of Iturbide the liberator is likewise well handled, particularly when the liberator becomes the emperor. Here the reluctance and sincerity with which he approached the call to form the monarchy is nicely developed. Iturbide as Agustín I is sympathetically portrayed by demonstrating the complex problems and lack of trained statesmen which faced the new ruler. In 1823 when cries of tyranny arose and forced the abdication of the year-old emperor, the defamation of his character was so great that it has been echoed by historians through the years. On this issue Professor Robertson is most sympathetic. He states, "The present writer's view of the enigmatical commander's character is that, in sharp contrast with the cruel and sanguinary conduct which he pursued as a royalist officer, after becoming the great champion of independence, his public conduct became considerate and humane. It seems that in the early months of 1823 he wished above all to prevent the shedding of Mexican blood. The blackmoor had been washed white" (p. 247).

This is an excellent piece of work, one which adds not only another pillar to Professor Robertson's stature as a historian, but also to the rapidly growing list of sound studies of Latin American leaders.

MARTIN J. LOWERY

DePaul University

NOTES AND COMMENTS

On November 10 it was announced that the Knights of Columbus Foundation for the Preservation of Historic Documents at the Vatican Library had been established at St. Louis University. Through a benefaction of $140,000 facilities were afforded to photograph 42,000 manuscripts on microfilm and to make them available for study and research by qualified scholars. The 17,516 Vaticani manuscripts form the largest group and the Barberini Collection of 10,797 manuscripts ranks second in size. Ultimately the foundation will have its headquarters in the Memorial Library of St. Louis University which is now under construction. However, partial service was made available in November, 1952, and interested students may secure further information by writing to the Secretary, Knights of Columbus Foundation, 221 North Grand Avenue, St. Louis 3, Missouri. An expensive, beautifully illustrated brochure has been printed to announce the collection. It deserved better editing.

The grant-in-aid program now being offered at the American History Research Center of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin should be of interest to students of Catholic universities in this country. Many local historical themes dealing with Catholic activities or with activities by Catholics would seem to qualify for consideration under the program. General local history projects provide excellent subjects for historical research. Topics which might be too religious for inclusion in the Wisconsin project might very well be subsidized by diocesan authorities or by state councils of the Knights of Columbus or other Catholic fraternal organizations.

The Society of American Archivists held its sixteenth annual meeting in Lexington, Kentucky, on October 27-28, 1952. The papers read included some on technical problems such as post-fire salvaging and writing inks and on such practical questions as annual reports and archivist-researcher relations. A session was given over to business records and another to regional and local collections. Two specialized groups, the state archivists and the college and university archivists, had discussion meetings within the convention period. The latter group have formed a conference within the society to assure an annual exchange of ideas on their common problems. They invite all entrusted with the archival task in educational institutions to join them. The 1953 meeting of the society is scheduled for Detroit.

The Reverend Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., a long-time and distinguished member of the Association, who at the start of the last academic year retired as professor of politics at the Catholic University of America, has written a pamphlet of current interest, *Social Thought of the American Hierarchy* (Institute of Social Order, St. Louis, 20 pages, 25c). Using as its major source Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M.Conv., *Our Bishops Speak* (Milwaukee, 1952), it covers the statements of the American bishops since World War I under five headings: social scene, social problems, socio-economic problems, economic problems, government and politics. This pamphlet serves to whet one's appetite for such forthcoming works as the volume of the Reverend Patrick W. Gearty of the College of St. Thomas on *The Economic Thought of John A. Ryan* and the completed study of the American Catholic social movement from the Civil War to 1900 by James Edmund Roohan of Yale University.

The Reverend Astrik L. Gabriel, a canon of Prémontré, has been appointed director of the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame, and the Reverend Joseph N. Garvin, C.S.C., has been named assistant director. Founded in 1946, the Mediaeval Institute is a center for specialized research, historical investigation, and advanced instruction in the life, thought, and culture of the Middle Ages. It offers the master's degree and doctorate in mediaeval studies.

The Reverend Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., assistant professor of Ibero-American History at the Catholic University of America, has been given a leave of absence for the second semester in order to pursue his studies on the colonial history of Spanish America in the Spanish archives, especially in the Archivo General de Indias of Seville. Father Tibesar's doctoral dissertation, *Franciscan Beginnings in Peru,* now available in microprint (The Catholic University of America Press), will be published by the Academy of American Franciscan History in April. At the present time Father Tibesar is collaborating with the Reverend Odorico Saiz, O.F.M., of Peru, in the editing of the letters of Fray Francisco de San José, founder of the Missionary College of Ocopa, to be published in 1954 on the occasion of the tercentenary of his birth.

Dr. Manoel Cardozo, associate professor of Ibero-American history at the Catholic University of America, has received a grant from the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia and will spend next summer on a research project in Portugal.

Dr. Manuel Santos Estevens, director of the National Library of Portugal, has arrived in Washington to study American library buildings

and techniques, prior to the drawing up of plans for a new building which will provide the principal library of Portugal with its first new quarters since its foundation at the end of the eighteenth century. For years the National Library has been housed in an ancient Franciscan convent, which has only with difficulty been adapted for library purposes.

The Academy of California Church History has recently put out reprints of two volumes: *Memoir of Rev. Mother Mary Teresa Comerford, Foundress of the Convents of the Presentation Order on the Pacific Coast* (San Francisco, 1882) and *The Life of Mother Mary Baptist Russell, Sister of Mercy* (New York, 1901) by Matthew Russell, S.J., her brother. The Academy has also issued a little book called *Los Fundadores* by Leon Rowland, a list of the first families of California. All publications of this group can be secured by writing the Academy of California Church History, Box 1668, Fresno, California.

The list of parish histories is gradually growing and to the number Monsignor Stephen N. Moore has recently added the volume, *History of Holy Trinity Parish, Bloomington, Illinois,* a parish over which he presided as pastor from July 12, 1924, to July 1, 1948, when he resigned his charge. The original pastorate at Holy Trinity, that of Father Bernard O'Hara, was begun in November, 1853, and the parish passed through the customary vicissitudes before it emerged triumphant from the disastrous fire of the church in March, 1932.

Mr. Denys P. Myers of the Department of State, who is conducting a research project on the Constitution of the United States, points out that North Carolina is the only state that has preserved its official copy of the Constitution as sent to the states for ratification in 1787.

The September issue of the *Canadian Historical Review* presents the twenty-fifth annual list of graduate theses, recently completed or in course of preparation, on Canadian history and related subjects.

E. J. Brill of Leiden, Holland, has just published *A History of Muslim Historiography* by Franz Rosenthal. In a work of about 570 pages he devotes one third of its space to the Muslim approach to history and the writing of it. The rest is given over to texts on historiography—two short works and one lengthy one in English translation and twenty brief hitherto unpublished passages in Arabic. It is a fascinating volume for those interested in the field of Islamic studies.

In the August number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* Thomas Matthews, instructor in history in the University of Puerto Rico, publishes an appreciation of Rafael Altamira, who died in Mexico City on June 7, 1951, at the age of eighty-five.

The Autumn number of *Thought* contains a lengthy obituary notice of Father Gerald Groveland Walsh, S.J., by Victor R. Yanitelli.

René Grousset, Catholic scholar, distinguished orientalist, member of the French Academy, curator of the Musée Cernuschi and director of the Musée Guimet in Paris, died on September 12. He wrote authoritatively and prolifically on the mediaeval period of both the Near and Far East. Among his writings are three solid volumes on the crusades, and large sections of two volumes in the *Histoire du moyen âge* of the Glotz series. He also published significant studies in the field of the philosophy of history. He had recently visited the United States on a lecture tour. Several of his works were translated into English.

Eugene H. Byrne, who from 1931 until his retirement in 1949 was a professor of mediaeval history in Barnard College and Columbia University, died at his home in Princeton, New Jersey, on September 23. He was a member of the American Catholic Historical Association. Born at Baraboo, Wisconsin, he received his higher education at the University of Wisconsin. After holding a Harrison Fellowship at the University of Pennsylvania he taught briefly at Amherst and then returned to the University of Wisconsin, where he remained as a teacher from 1912 to 1930. In 1931 he held a Guggenheim Scholarship. Mr. Byrne was a scintillating lecturer and his classes were much frequented. His research was devoted to the history of the trade carried on by mediaeval Italian towns. He worked in archival sources and introduced his doctoral students into this field. In 1930 he published a volume on *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.*

Michael J. Rostovtzeff, outstanding classical archaeologist and authority in the field of ancient history, died on October 20 at the age of 81. He had retired from Yale University in 1944. Born in Kief, he studied there and at St. Petersburg as well as in Vienna and Rome. As a very young scholar he received a grant that enabled him to spend three years in research in the Middle East. He became professor of Latin and of Roman history in the University of St. Petersburg. In 1918 he left when Communism, to which he was strenuously opposed, came into power. After a sojourn in England he was in 1920 invited to the University of

Wisconsin as professor of ancient history. Five years later he became Sterling Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology at Yale University. An eloquent and forceful lecturer and a stimulating teacher, he was primarily interested in research and writing. He directed the Yale excavations at Dura-Europos in Syria. Among his voluminous writings he will be best remembered for his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* and *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World.*

William Thomas Miller Gamble died on November 23 at St. Ann's Home for the Aged near Columbia, Pennsylvania. He was seventy-seven years of age. Born in Paris, he lived with his parents in Switzerland and Scotland before they settled in York, Pennsylvania, in the early 1900's. He graduated from Princeton University in 1898, and subsequently took up divinity studies that led to his ordination in the Episcopal Church. After serving as assistant minister at St. John's Episcopal Church in York and at various churches in New York and Illinois he settled in Washington and enrolled as a student at the Catholic University of America. In the course of his work for the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees he entered the Catholic Church. In preparation for his doctoral thesis he did research at the University of Bonn. His dissertation was entitled the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Its Inheritance in Source Value and Criticism* (Washington, 1927). Dr. Gamble lived subsequently in retirement in Washington until the death of his wife in 1943 and then in York with his sister, Anna Dill Gamble, who survives him. He was devoted to poetry and had written poems since his student days at Princeton.

The sixth centennial of the death of Pope Clement VI was celebrated recently at Chaise-Dieu in France. In commemoration of that event a biography of the Pontiff by Antoine Pélissier, entitled *Clément VI, le magnifique, premier pape Limousin (1342-1352),* (Brive, 1952) has been published. It is not a scholarly work, but since it is the first biography of Clement VI to appear it will serve until a more truly definitive work is done.

During the present year ten ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the United States will celebrate their centennial. As a result of the request of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in May, 1852, for further divisions in the American Church, the Holy See acted and on July 29, 1853, Pius IX erected the Archdiocese of San Francisco and the following nine dioceses: Alexandria (Natchitoches), Brooklyn, Burlington, Covington, Erie, Newark, Portland in Maine, Santa Fe, and Springfield in Illinois (Quincy). On the same day the Pope established the Vicariate Apostolic

of Upper Michigan, which later became the Diocese of Marquette, and suppressed the Diocese of Walla Walla in the Territory of Washington.

April 19, 1953, will mark the centenary of the death in Cincinnati of Stephen Theodore Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States and the great missionary of the Middle West. Father Badin was in a sense the founder of the Church in Kentucky, serving there for a quarter of a century after his ordination in 1793. After a period in France in which he promoted the interests of the American missions he returned to the Middle West in 1828 and later set up an orphan asylum on the grounds which were soon to be turned over to Father Edward Sorin, C.S.C., as the site of the University of Notre Dame. Contemporary newspaper accounts state that Badin's death was witnessed by a notable electrical storm in Cincinnati, as if nature was testifying to the significance of his passing.

June 30, 1953, will mark the hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Cajetan Bedini, special legate of Pope Pius IX, in New York. Archbishop Bedini, returning to Rome after a special mission to Brazil, had been charged by the Pope to proceed to Washington to present a friendly letter to President John Tyler and also to examine the complaints of the trustees of certain churches in Philadelphia and Buffalo. The legate was to investigate the possibility of opening diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the United States. The violence that took place on the occasion of Bedini's trip about the country led him to give an unfavorable report on that project. The reactions to the recent proposal for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Vatican seem to indicate that American public feeling on this question has not advanced much during the hundred years.

The centennial of the birth of the Chilean historian and bibliographer, José Toribio Medina, was the occasion for a symposium held in Washington in November under the auspices of the Pan American Union with the co-operation of the Library of Congress and the Embassy of Chile. Prominent scholars from various parts of the country took part in a program arranged by Mr. Maury Bromsen of the Pan American Union, who served as the executive secretary of the organizing committee.

The centennial of the birth of José Martí is being widely celebrated in Cuba and elsewhere in Spanish America in January.

Duquesne University in Pittsburgh is observing the seventy-fifth anniversary of its foundation. It was begun in 1878 by priests of the Holy

Ghost Congregation who had been banished from Germany in the Kulturkampf. In 1882 it was incorporated as the Pittsburgh Catholic College of the Holy Ghost. Its charter as a university was granted in 1911, and in that year it became known as Duquesne University of the Holy Ghost. Since 1935 its name has been shortened to Duquesne University. The school has 30,000 alumni and a present enrollment of about 4,000. The Holy Ghost Fathers deserve warm congratulations for their faithful services to Catholic education.

Documents: Florilegio documental del reinado de Pedro IV de Aragón. Amada López de Meneses (*Cuadernos de historia de España,* Vol. XVI, 1951).—La bula de Alejandro VI otorgando el título de "Católicos" a Fernando e Isabel: I, Evolución del tema y texto. Eusebio Rey, S. I. (*Razón y Fe,* July).—The Royal Presidio Chapel of San Carlos, Monterey, Capital of Colonial California. Maynard Geiger (Ed.). (*Americas,* Oct.).

BRIEF NOTICES

ABELL, AARON I., BERNARD J. FLEMING, PAUL A. LEVACK, THOMAS T. McAVOY, C.S.C., and LAWRENCE J. MANNION. *A History of the United States.* (New York: Fordham University Press. 1951. Pp. x, 683. $7.00.)

In the absence of any kind of preface or introduction, the reader of this volume may find himself somewhat confused concerning its purpose and best use. There is no question that the book covers competently most of the facts and trends in American history, but to what audience is it addressed? Why was it written? The best clue as to its purpose lies in the affiliations of its authors, all of whom appear, from the title-page, to be Catholics. One may fairly conclude, therefore, that they intended this volume to be at least an attempt to answer the long-felt want of an American history textbook, which would weave into the general story of the country's development an account of the growth of the Catholic Church in the United States.

At the outset, it must be admitted that—if this is the correct interpretation of their purpose—the book is not the satisfactory answer to the quest. If, on the other hand, the assigning of such a purpose to the authors is unfair, any reader or reviewer may surely protest that he has a right to be informed of the reasons which underlie the composition and presentation of such a book as this. Only the dust jacket makes any pretense of accounting for the existence of the volume, and the best of publishers can hardly be required to present for the authors an explanation of what they had intended to do. There is, furthermore, ample reason to believe that this book is identical with one intended for high school consumption, but overblown to a size suitable only for colleges.

If this were the only defect, its seriousness would prevent the maximum usefulness of the book from being achieved. Unfortunately again, however, the book suffers also from some serious disadvantages in other respects. Its bibliography is presented at the ends of chapters without any kind of differentiation among books and with incomplete information concerning the publications mentioned. College students can certainly not be trained to present their own research materials properly if they are always confronted with this type of object-lesson, and ordinary readers cannot check upon books which might give them additional information concerning the topics contained in this book. Double columns and broken-up narratives are likewise unattractive, and the number of footnotes indicates more confusion of purpose: they are too frequent to suit the requirements of a textbook and too casual to fit the needs of the scholar.

Some readers, of course, would find even these physical flaws bearable, although the poor reproduction of pictures and maps would be harder to forgive. But no reader should be forced to read, as in the case of the relations between Cardinal Gibbons and the Knights of Labor, two sentences on the same page which contradict each other. Neither should he look in vain for an assessment of the contributions to American life of Catholic jurists, when much less important matters are given full-page treatment. Much recent material has been used, it is true; but much has been ignored, and what has been used generally

seems to have been of minor importance. Mother Seton is not mentioned, but Edna Ferber's name appears; precisely the same amount of space is devoted to Bronson Alcott and Orestes Brownson; Justice McKenna is not mentioned at all, nor is Pierce Butler, though the latter's picture is included. The style throughout is that of the simplified encyclopedia, and the only conclusion to which any reader can come is that this book is disappointing in every respect. (SISTER MARIE CAROLYN KLINKHAMER)

APPLEBY, PAUL H. *Morality and Administration in Democratic Government.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1952. Pp. xvi, 261. $4.00.)

This excellent book is the written version of the Edward Douglass White Lectures delivered at Louisiana State University by the Dean of the Graduate School of Syracuse University. While the work is not intended as a direct and extensive discussion of wrong-doing and improprieties in government, such as have been much publicized of late, it is probable that the chapter "Venality in Government" will prove of great popular interest to the general reader. The author doubts that the prevalent pessimism over disclosures of corruption is really warranted, and his brilliant analysis of the preventitive and corrective processes in this connection engenders confidence in the integrity of government—particularly the national government.

After establishing that the morality of democratic government is associated closely with a responsible and controllable administrative process oriented to the uniquely public interest, the work is concerned chiefly with an analysis and evaluation of administrative institutions and devices. This book exemplifies political science at close to its best. (FRANCIS J. POWERS)

AUSUBEL, HERMAN, J. BARTLET BREBNER, AND ERLING M. HUNT (Eds.). *Some Modern Historians of Britain.* (New York: Dryden Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 384. $5.00.)

This volume of "Essays in Honor of R. L. Schuyler" contains twenty-two studies of eminent historians ranging stylistically from Carlyle to Gardiner and chronologically from Lingard to Eileen Power. (It is fitting that the essay on Lingard should have appeared in the year of the centenary celebrations at Ushaw and Hornby.) The essays have been written by former doctoral students of Professor Schuyler and, taken with his own studies of Macaulay, Green, and Maitland, they provide a useful introduction to the historiography of Professor Schuyler's main fields of work—aptly defined in John A. Krout's introduction as "the genesis and development of England's constitutional system and the ebb and flow of Britain's imperial power."

The best way of indicating briefly the scope of the book will be to list the historians whose works are discussed. They are John Lingard, Henry Hallam, Thomas Carlyle, J. A. Froude, Sir Henry Maine, Goldwyn Smith, S. R. Gardiner, Sir Leslie Stephen, W. E. H. Lecky, Lord Morley, Sir George O. Trevelyan, G. B. Adams, Sir Charles H. Firth, C. M. Andrews, E. Halévy, Sir

William Holdsworth, G. L. Beer, A. P. Newton, Winston S. Churchill, R. H. Tawney, L. B. Namier, Eileen Power. The volume is handsomely produced and the essays interesting and informative if not marked by any striking originality of interpretation. Only three of them deal with living historians and, since it was not possible to provide even a representative selection of contemporary authors, perhaps, it would have been better to have excluded them altogether. The volume would then not have been marred by a rather facile caricature of Winston Churchill. Incidentally, Professor A. L. Rowse may be a little startled to find himself cited as a representative of "Modern Labour." (BRIAN TIERNEY)

BUTTS, R. FREEMAN. *The American Tradition in Religion and Education.* (Boston: Beacon Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 230. $3.00.)

Professor Butts' study assumes that what he terms "multiple establishment" of religion is a threat to religious freedom and the American tradition of democracy (pp. xiii-xiv). Coining this new term for an interpretation of constitutional law that originated with the Everson Case in 1947, Butts marshals documents and facts to bolster his assumption in the light of traditional American principles and practices.

Like any small volume that attempts to unravel the tangled issues complicating Church-State problems on both a federal and state basis over so long a period, the present work is necessarily sketchy and prone to oversimplifications. Without evaluating motivating causes set forth in *Documents of the Common Council of the City of New York*, the author naively concludes that "a Catholic orphan asylum applied to the city council for state funds and received them, but a Methodist charity school was denied a similar [*sic*] request" (p. 133). Butts also asserts that in the New York State elections of 1842 "Catholics formed a separate political organization . . . and also nominated some candidates on their own ticket for the Assembly and for the Senate" (p. 134). Nowhere does he state that the "political organization" functioned only briefly and with regard to the school question, that its own candidates repudiated it to save their political skins, and that it arose only when all the candidates of both major parties had already been pledged to oppose Catholic claims in the common school agitation.

In his analysis of the McCollum Case Professor Butts gives absolutely no consideration to the weighty arguments in Justice Reed's minority opinion or in Professor Corwin's devastating critique. His volume is a forceful and clear statement of the present secularist position. Its essential weakness lies in its author's having set out to grind an axe. (EDWARD M. CONNORS)

CARRINGTON, C. E. *John Robert Godley of Canterbury, New Zealand, and His Friends.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 251. $5.25.)

John Robert Godley was an austere, reserved, and almost unknown Victorian who had, nevertheless, a claim to eminence. He was primarily responsible for

a settlement which came as a climax of twenty years of colonial reform and was the most successful example of systematic colonization in British imperial history. Early in life, and as a result of his observations as the son of an Irish landlord during the great famine, Godley embraced the doctrines of the colonial reformers, to become a zealous advocate, along with Edward Gibbon Wakefield, of the blessings of planned emigration. He directed the sailing of "The Canterbury Pilgrims" in 1850 and their settlement in New Zealand, and he saw in them the fulfillment of three great aims: to plant Canterbury with the very best kind of population, to make them self-reliant, and to secure for them self-government.

He is fortunate in his present biographer, for his life gains proportion only in the hands of one who understands nineteenth-century England in terms of the evangelical revival and the Oxford Movement within the Anglican Church and the Tory conception of society founded not on rights but on duties. For Godley was a churchman and a Tory who quietly left his mark upon England and upon New Zealand. Thus a sympathetic yet dispassionate memoir of his life, refreshing in its literary style, and based upon many unpublished writings of Godley and his co-operators, notably Wakefield and Charles Adderley, although unfortunately lacking the necessary citation of sources within the text, takes on far greater importance than only a casual knowledge of this strangely colorless Irishman might suggest. (JAMES A. REYNOLDS)

The Catholic Church and Southern Africa. A Series of Essays. (Cape Town: Catholic Archdiocese of Cape Town. 1951. Pp. xxii, 180. 13.6s.)

In 1951 the Holy See established the hierarchy in the Union of South Africa. This series of essays was compiled to commemorate this achievement in the life of the Church. In the foreword the Apostolic Delegate to South Africa, Archbishop Martin H. Lucas, S.V.D., points out that the two-fold purpose of this book is to enable "Catholics to appreciate their faith more deeply and to love it more devotedly, and in the hope that it will present to non-Catholics a sufficient summary of the beliefs and organization of the Catholic Church, and a survey of its position in Southern Africa, historically and socially, so as to enable them to judge and appreciate its supreme value not only to themselves but also to the country that they love as their home and fatherland" (p. vi).

The work is divided into two sections: the first treats the Church in general, and the second, the Church in Southern Africa. In the first section, there is an excellent summary of the Church, its origin, mission, organization, and contribution to civilization. This summary would be helpful to non-Catholics of all nations. The history, organization, and achievements of the Church in South Africa are then set forth. It is an inspiration to Catholics to read of the steady growth of the Church in that part of the world through the heroic sacrifices of missionary priests. Of special significance, because of the serious situation building up in South Africa, is the treatment of the work of the Church for interracial co-operation.

A map of the ecclesiastical jurisdictions of the Church in Southern Africa and a diagram tracing the chief shepherds of the flock in Africa, 1805 to 1951,

add to the value of the book. The patient work of the clergy of Southern Africa in preparing this helpful and enlightening volume deserves commendation. (EDWARD WHITLEY)

CHAMBERS, M. M. *The Colleges and the Courts, 1946-1950.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1952. Pp. x, 202. $3.00.)

This is the fourth in a series of volumes of the same title, the first three of which were published by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The series condenses decisions of state and federal courts, commencing with the Dartmouth College case in 1819. The cases are classified as to (1) personnel; (2) public institutions; (3) private institutions; (4) fiscal relationships with governmental units; (5) financial support from private sources. The author has succeeded in stating in language intelligible to laymen the principles laid down by the cases and has assembled his material in a manner convenient for reference, with a table of cases arranged chronologically by states and an index.

The volumes in the series should be of great value to college and university trustees and administrators and their counsel. They cover such subjects as: the admission and segregation of students; their indemnification for personal injuries; employee contracts; tenure; retirement; workmen's compensation and civil service; the legal position of state institutions; the relationship of privately controlled institutions to governments. Especially valuable, because of the critical financial situation of many colleges, are the decisions on exemption from taxation, on self-liquidating building projects, and on accessory educational corporations and associations. (BEN W. PALMER)

CONE, CARL B. *Torchbearer of Freedom. The Influence of Richard Price on Eighteenth Century Thought.* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 209. $3.75.)

Carl B. Cone, associate professor of English history in the University of Kentucky, presents in this, his first book, a significant and gracefully written study which historically restores Richard Price (1723-1791), dissenting minister, moralist, mathematician, and political philosopher, to the eminent position he occupied in his own time. Keenly aware of dissenter disabilities, Price dedicated his life to ideals of liberal political reform, and his influence was felt not only in England, but also on the continent and in America. The American Revolution was of immense interest to Price, who actively encouraged this cause involving dissenter principles and the rights of man, and he gave advice on the framing of the Constitution. Cone treats the American aspects of Price's influence more extensively than have previous biographers.

During a fifty-year pastorate, Price opposed the empiricism and utilitarianism of Locke, Hutcheson, and Hume with a moral objectivity based on divine sanctions and integrated with freedom of action in moral, religious, and political activities. He advised the governments of Shelburne and the younger Pitt on

problems connected with the national debt and the sinking fund, maintained a wide range of associations with fellow members of the Royal Society and the "Honest Whigs," and formed a particularly close friendship with Benjamin Franklin. Price's writings, which fanned fires of controversy in England, and his correspondence, a major portion published in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Second Series, XVII (1903), are the principal sources from which Cone constructs this admirably documented narrative. There is an index, and a bibliographical note rather than a formal bibliography. (FRANK BURCH)

CREMIN, LAWRENCE A. *The American Common School—An Historic Conception.* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. 1951. Pp. xvi, 248. $3.50.)

This is a frankly revisionist presentation of values in the history of elementary public education in the United States. The foremost files of time, as conceived by the secularist of today, are used to discount the legacy and ideals of American history up to the 1840's. The really creative period in the nation's development is no longer that of the founding fathers, with the concepts of religion and morality as basic to the maintenance of freedom, and the natural law as the bulwark of inalienable rights; rather it is now the play of social forces resulting in the rise of labor, of nationalism, and the secularizing of the concept of man and society. This is a statement of history tailored to the secularist world-view, with which the common laboring man, by and large, does not agree. Ominous in the foreword by George S. Counts is the statement ". . . here too is an idea that is being threatened today by the current effort on the part of sectarian groups to obtain public funds for the support of private schools."

Dr. Cremin's book adds little to the facts of the emergence and development of the elementary public schools not already traced in the standard works of Cubberly and others. Novel only is the peculiar twist of phrase, and the more complete ideological atmosphere. One wonders what prompted the repeated use of "collectivism" in a context such as the following: "Carter made rigorous use of Massachusetts traditional *collectivism* (italics added) as a foundation for his arguments" (p. 92). The author also has found "collectivism" as one of the roots of the American common school system (p. 85). That this expression may not be the result of inadequate mastery of vocabulary is seen from a passage such as the following: ". . . the reformers maintained that they could not possibly deny the rights of private schools without doing violence to the legal and moral principals of an *individualist capitalist economy*" (p. 61) (italics added). The common school, therefore, we are told, had the responsibility of neutralizing "the anti-republican tendencies of economic individualism" (p. 61).

Without humor or irony the author implicitly contrasts the bad old days with the present: "When the educators of [that] period wanted to deal with this area or that, it was always regarded as a matter of the teacher teaching a given body of material to the student, and the student learning this material" (p. 62). It is possible that many American parents of today long for the good old days when teachers taught and students learned! (PATRICK J. DIGNAN)

DAY, DOROTHY. *The Long Loneliness.* Illustrated by Fritz Eichenberg. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1952. Pp. 288. $3.50.)

This is a meditative memoir and only in a wide sense an autobiography. The author, whose place with the important women of the American Church—mother foundresses, philanthropists, and social workers—will doubtlessly become more obvious as time passes, writes in an engaging fashion. This is a book that cannot be read with great objectivity by any Catholic who cultivated a social consciousness in the 1930's, nor will it be found stale even by one who has read Miss Day's monthly column for almost twenty years. She takes the reader through her growing up in Brooklyn, California, and Chicago, the first twenty-five years of floundering. Yet that period was marked by religious feelings and a zeal for the cause of the down-trodden that found an outlet in left-wing movements. Her jail experiences like her adolescence are given with a frank insight which her conversion story of thirteen years ago, *From Union Square to Rome,* did not reveal. With the baptism of her child of a common law union in 1927 Miss Day headed for Rome with a vengeance and that without any high-powered intellectual guide. The third part of the book is Peter Maurin's, founder of the Catholic Worker movement. This errant philosopher and personalist advocate of the green revolution would have been surprised to find himself written up in *Time,* a symbol of all he did not stand for, on the occasion of his death. The rise of the circulation of the *Catholic Worker* in three years to 150,000 by 1936, the growth of houses of hospitality, the treks made by professors, strikers, students, homeless, etc., to the C.W. are traced up to the present when its pacificism and rarified spiritual approach have resulted in the loss of enthusiastic support from many old associates and friends.

Dorothy Day writes of much more than of herself. Oddly enough she has a few letters to quote—though the movement's poverty will never permit the accumulating of archives! She lingers long where she wills, and omits parts of her life completely. She is not systematic and reflectively applies thoughts and readings of later years to remembered situations. It is a contribution to warm over the hearts of those grown cold with respectability and distance from the "social problem" and to record more of a person and a movement so important for the new life it helped give to the Church in the United States. What satisfied a wondering Cardinal Hayes when first faced with its rise can still be said of the Catholic Worker, viz., that it brings the name of Christ to many who would otherwise never have heard it. (HENRY J. BROWNE)

DEAN, VERA MICHELES. *Europe and the United States.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. ix, 349, xiii. $3.50.)

In writing this book Mrs. Dean intended to contribute to a wider and better understanding of international affairs. The reader of such a work expects factual information and a realistic assessment of the great issues involved in the world's crisis. The author lives up to the first expectation; she presents the reader with sufficient and interesting factual information. However, her evaluation of the great issues is rather unrealistic. Mrs. Dean fails to convey

the extent to which the Soviet-Marxist challenge strikes at the foundations of western Christian civilization. She seems to deal with the situation as if it were an intellectual adventure, an intellectual groping for "new values." She speaks of "an age when all accepted values are being revalued—but at a different pace and according to different scales from country to country"; and again of "the crumbling of a long-accepted social order, the confusion of thought . . . unleashed by the decline of formerly authoritative ideas and the emergence of new ones. . . ." Obviously, the existence of basic perennial values which have to be the yardstick and backbone of any greater political and social changes have not been considered by the author. And it is exactly against these basic values that the revolution within which we live is directed. Only by neglecting their existence could Mrs. Dean arrive at any hope for a more than purely superficial and temporary abatement of international tensions within the lifetime of probably more than one generation to come. The book has been written in the spirit of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and fails, therefore, to picture the realities of the current course of international politics. (WILLIAM H. ROBERTS)

DOBRÉE, BONAMY. *Alexander Pope.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1952. Pp. 125. $3.00.)

The rehabilitation of the character of Alexander Pope undertaken during the past quarter century is continued by the distinguished scholar, Bonamy Dobrée, in this brief biography of the formerly almost universally maligned neo-classic poet. The book is a stimulation to renewed study of the details of the intense personal and public life of that "dazzling poet" in view of his reconstruction as a reasonably cheerful, good-tempered, benevolent man, courageous in his endurance of the double handicap of Catholicism—no inconsiderable disadvantage in eighteenth-century England—and physical deformity, proud in his independence of patrons, and indefatigable in his opposition to negativism, pretense, and personal acrimony. Such a sympathetic approach invites particularly a review of Pope's position in the celebrated controversies once attributed almost solely to his arrogance and duplicity: the lengthy quarrel with the sharp-penned critic, Derris, the bitterly fought "politico-literary gang warfare" of the first half of the century, and the treacherous, conspiratorial Addison-Tickell-Tonson alliance against the Pope-Lintot *Iliad.* Direction to full and dependable studies of these and other problems is provided in the author's preface wherein is acknowledged his indebtedness to the works of Root, Griffiths, Ault, Tillotson, Sutherland, and especially Sherburn. No attempt is made to appraise fully the artistic achievements of the poet, but they are recorded and their cause-effect patterns, so traceable in the political and literary history of the Augustan Age, are indicated, if not developed.

Although, as the dust jacket asserts, Mr. Dobrée has undoubtedly "made full use of the latest results of scholarly research," he provides no bibliography and no footnote material. But one does not expect such apparatus in a work the purpose and tone of which are clearly introductory and popular. There is, how-

ever, a helpful index to this very engaging and fluent account of the "new" Pope. (ANNE MARIE MCNAMARA)

DUFF, CHARLES. *Ireland and the Irish.* (London and New York: T. V. Boardman and Co. Ltd. 1952. Pp. 288. 15/.)

It seems a well-nigh impossible task to present an unprejudiced picture of Ireland. To the author's credit, he almost succeeds at times. His book is directed to prospective visitors who know little or nothing about the country or people. Faintly reminiscent of the World War II pocket guides distributed to army occupation forces, Mr. Duff at first discusses social behavior, Irish peculiarities, and the danger of becoming involved in religious or political arguments. To give a background for appreciation of these problems, Mr. Duff devotes Part I to history, literature, folklore, and "the modern mind." Here one recognizes painstaking research, well-documented sources, and a desire to present the material judiciously. In Part II Mr. Duff settles down, in typical guide-book style, to a tour of the country from convenient centers, giving, in the appendix, some hints on passports, money, transportation, and hotels. Especially noteworthy are the superb photographic illustrations.

A native of Northern Ireland, the author has spent the greater part of his career out of the country. A journalist, editor, translator, and British civil servant, his books cover a wide field. He would probably be best known to historians for *The Truth about Columbus* (1936). The present volume is obviously meant for those people with whom the author comes in contact. In response to their inquiries and probable inclinations, Mr. Duff has cut his cloth. The people of southern Ireland and their sympathizers abroad will hardly relish the author's occasional use of unfortunate comparisons, or officious assumptions and generalizations. This would undoubtedly strike Mr. Duff as a perfect example of his contention that "the Irish are touchy." The word "they" in reference to the Irish people may have been deliberate on the part of the author in his role of detached observer, but it tends to emphasize his inability to fathom the Irish mind. On the whole, the author has presented the Ireland he knows in a sincere and sympathetic way. He is to be particularly commended for his interesting translation of place names. (RITA M. MURPHY)

EVANS, DAVID OWEN. *Social Romanticism in France, 1830-1848.* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1951. Pp. vi, 149. $3.00.)

A highly readable introduction to the social thought of the French romantic writers of the period 1830-1848 is provided by this slim volume. The author has emphasized the thought of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Blanqui, Etienne Cabet and Constantin Pecqueur; more strictly literary figures such as Lamartine, Lamennais, Hugo, and Alfred de Vigny receive comparatively cursory treatment. One and all, they make up a fabulous gallery: Cabet, stumbling through the American Southwest with his group of communists ("Primitive Christians"), in

search of the dream-city of Icaria; Fourier, harmoniously reorganizing the earth and the heavens with his theory of "passionate attraction"; the Père Enfantin, faithful disciple of Saint-Simon, who called his followers to meals by the romantic sound of the horn and who required them to wear vests buttoned at the back as a reminder of mankind's interdependence. But Dr. Evans minimizes the irrational element in the French romanticists and stresses their importance in the history of social ideas. He finds in Romantic literature an "extraordinary blend of social realism and prophetic genius," a statement which could hardly be disputed in the light of the numerous prescient paragraphs the author culls from the works of the romanticists.

The scholarly value of the book is enhanced by a forty-page bibliography of French socialism from Saint-Simon to Proudhon. (LÉON L. BERNARD)

FALKENHAUSEN, FREIHERR FRIEDRICH VON. *Dante.* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1951. Pp. 202. DM 8.80.)

The author of this book has made a name for himself as a highly esteemed student of Dante, and especially as a translator of the *Divina Commedia* into German. In his preface Herr Harald von Koenigswald informs us that the author died in Potsdam in 1946, and that he had written his book during World War II.

The writer begins with a chapter on Dante and the Germans in which he contends that in some respects the German researches on Dante are superior to those of the Italians, mentioning in particular Vossler's book on the *Divine Comedy*. The subsequent chapters, which contain a truly superior description of the life and writings of the immortal Florentine, exhibit the mature judgment and reliability of a capable guide to Dante. The book, although brief enough, is engagingly written in precise and idiomatic German. It is not furnished with a bibliography, and unfortunately, it is not provided with an index which would notably enhance its value and utility. However, the general reader will be impressed by the author's earnestness and will, no doubt, find in his book the essentials of what a cultured and educated person should know of Dante Alighieri. (JOHN J. ROLBIECKI)

FERGUSSON, ERNA. *New Mexico: A Pageant of Three Peoples.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1951. Pp. xii, 408, vi. $5.00.)

Erna Fergusson has drawn a vivid picture of her native New Mexico, painting with bold strokes the historic background of the three peoples who today make up the state. Objection might be taken by the historian to some of the interpretations found in this book. A number of omissions might well be pointed out. But to do so would be petty in view of the purpose and the scope of the work. It is, indeed, a pageant and should be viewed in that light. The author believes in the inherent dignity and worth of man, be he Indian, Spanish, or "Gringo." Each of these three groups is the object of the three sections of the

book. The present-day problems of the three groups in the difficult art of living together in a democratic fashion are not overlooked or glossed over. Only in treating of the "Texan" invasion of the state at the present time with its consequent influx of un-American ideas on racial relations does Mrs. Fergusson lose her equanimity. For this she can hardly be censured since the continued development of the state depends on the defeat of these ideas—ideas that well could change the pageant of the future into a dismal tragedy. The book will serve both to introduce the general reader to the fascinating history of New Mexico and it will throw new light on the same history for those who already know and love it. There is a good bibliography for beginners, a glossary of special terms, and numerous illustrations. (AUGUST RAYMOND OGDEN)

FINBERG, H. P. R. *Tavistock Abbey: A Study in the Social and Economic History of Devon.* [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. New Series, Volume II.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1952. Pp. xi, 320. $5.00.)

This scholarly study is the second volume in the new series of Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought. The matter covered is not so narrow as the title suggests. Actually the wealth of information applicable to the mediaeval scene in general is truly amazing for a book of 300 pages. On the background of practices and institutions common to England, Mr. Finberg describes those which were peculiar to Devonshire. With fastidious thoroughness—a great number of tables are included—the author deals with a variety of subjects: the endowments of the abbey, the burdensome services required of the abbey by the government, the social status of the people living on the abbey's lands, the diverse occupations of the population, seignorial revenues, and others. Though traditionally a somewhat wild country on the corner of England, Devonshire actually was pre-eminent in husbandry, possessed important dairying, livestock, mining, and fishing industries, while within a radius of two miles of the abbey sixteen "tucker" mills were at work. Though the area was generally prosperous in the Middle Ages, "Today Milemead is in ruins; Pixon and Stilesweek are mere barns; a cow-shed alone remains at Blackmoorham." The study is expertly organized, transitions are handled smoothly, and innumerable bits of interesting information are woven without effort into the general theme, e.g., the entry in the liturgical calendar of the abbey: "Aug. 4. St. Simon de Montfort." Every liberal arts college library should have the book, even the most impecunious. (JOSEPH H. DAHMUS)

FUERST, ADRIAN, O.S.B. *The Omnipresence of God in Selected Writings Between 1220-1270.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1951. Pp. x, 259. $2.75.)

The nature of God's omnipresence has always intrigued the subtle minds of the theologians. During the period which this work covers, such great scholas-

tics as St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas Aquinas devoted many pages of their large tomes to such perplexing questions as God's essence and nature, ubiquity, and immensity.

As Father Fuerst tells us in his preface, "the object of this dissertation is to present a scientific study of the omnipresence of God as taught by the principal Scholastics during the period from 1220-1270" (p. vii). With this in mind, he has collected some valuable sources which until now have remained unpublished. In two appendices, the learned author has given us Alexander of Hales' *Commentarium super sententias* Liber I, Dist. 37, which was obtained from the Codex Assisi 189, f. 40d-43d, corrected by V. Doucet, O.F.M., "with the help of Codex Lambeth 347" (p. 207). The other appendix is Alexander's *Quaestio* 32, which was obtained from the codex *Vat. lat.* 782, f. 3b-5a, and the transcription of this source was made by Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M., of St. Bonaventure University, New York. The author shows a deep knowledge of such sources as the *Summa* of Alexander of Hales which until rather recently was considered as the doubtful work of this scholastic.

This doctoral thesis is a valuable contribution to the study of God's omnipresence and also an excellent analysis of the teachings of the great scholastics notably, Sts. Bonaventure, Albert the Great, and Thomas, Alexander of Hales, Odo Rigald, and John of Rupella. Father Fuerst has successfully shown that there was relative unanimity among these scholastics concerning the doctrine of God's omnipresence. (BONAVENTURE BROWN)

GRISAR, HARTMANN, S.J. *Martin Luther, His Life and Work.* (Adapted from the second German edition by Frank J. Eble.) (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press. 1950. Pp. x, 609. $4.75.)

This volume of 600 pages presents in compendium form the vast research and erudition of Father Grisar's larger work entitled *Luther.* (German, three volumes; English translation, six volumes.) Naturally this volume is not dissociated in purpose from that of Grisar's larger work, namely, to explode the Luther myth. To this reviewer the present compendium succeeds admirably in achieving its purpose despite occasional overlappings and duplication of information. In concise form it makes available to the general public sound scholarship without the cumbersome bulk of a series of volumes. While not hesitating to present Luther in all his Teutonic bluntness and crudity, this work at the same time betrays excellent restraint and balance. It presents a vast amount of information. One leaves off the reading of this compendium with a far greater sense of satisfaction than other modern English lives are able to afford. It is a work well worth the serious study of every priest and seminarian. The educated layman, too, will read it with considerable profit.

For the historical scholar this volume, being a summary or compendium, labors under certain defects. In general the chronological order is followed, but at times also the topical; the latter sections frequently involve matter in advance of the chronological together with retrogressions. This method of treatment leads to some minor obscurities. It is particularly unfortunate that the

index is not as extensive and workable as it should be. The critical apparatus is necessarily limited. The constant reference to Grisar's larger work for substantiation of statements is particularly bothersome. Why should not a study of this kind give a direct reference to some solid source for Luther's utterances? Finally, the bibliography, which is adequate enough, comprises German works almost exclusively. The idea occurred to this reader that a list of English works devoted to the study of Luther, together with a critical evaluation of each, would be far more satisfactory in this English adaptation. All in all, the book is well worth the purchase price to anyone interested in the origin of the Protestant Revolt. (PAUL J. KNAPKE)

HOEHN, MATTHEW, O.S.B. (Ed.). *Catholic Authors: Contemporary Biographical Sketches.* (Newark: St. Mary's Abbey. 1952. Pp. xiv, 633. $6.50.)

Father Hoehn's second volume of Catholic writers' biographies supplements his excellent earlier work, *Catholic Authors: Contemporary Biographical Sketches, 1930-1947* (Newark, 1948). The value of one is enhanced by the other, without which each is incomplete. His new book, of the same plane as the earlier, furnishes 374 biographies of authors, of books in English or translated into English, who either were omitted from the first volume or who have appeared in print since 1947. The book does not pretend to make a critical evaluation of an author's books, or to estimate the influence of Catholicism on his writing. Authors of titles such as *Blondes Prefer Gentlemen* (Sheila John Daly) and *The Salvation of the Nations* (Jean Daniélou, S.J.) are found side by side, emphasizing the variety of Catholic authorship covered. Scholars will find the leaders in their fields, theology, philosophy, education, science, social studies, etc., well represented. Among many names of particular interest to the student of history are Gustave Bardy, Pierre Janelle, Philibert Schmitz, Walter Ullmann, and Jacques Zeiller. Adequate proof of the literary activity of the laity is the fact that their names outnumber the clergy about three to one.

Bibliographical citation occasionally falls short of perfection by the mention of titles of books without further identification. In most cases the date of publication is given. Extraneous material, such as the story of the transportation of the relics of Blessed Andrew Bobola, S.J., from Russia (pp. 182-184), has increased the number of pages of this volume proportionably more than the first. A few omissions, for which apology is made, do occur, but they cannot detract from the general excellence and value of the work. (JOHN E. WRIGLEY)

HOLMES, URBAN TIGNER, JR. *Daily Living in the Twelfth Century: Based on the Observations of Alexander Neckam in London and Paris.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 337. $3.85.)

It is a not too frequent pleasure to come upon a book that combines reader interest with excellent scholarship. Professor Holmes' volume provides such

a treat. In an effort to break with the misleading but all too common practice of describing mediaeval life as though the entire period were a single, homogeneous era, the author limits himself to the second half of the twelfth century, making a restrained and careful use of earlier and later texts for purposes of clarification. He accomplishes his end by having the reader accompany Alexander Neckam on a journey to London and to Paris, lodge with him in both cities, join him in the lecture hall, visit a baronial estate in his company. In his skillful use of this method, Professor Holmes has admirably succeeded in making the men and women of the period really live. He has shown what can be done, and it is to be hoped that other scholars, equally gifted and industrious, will accept his challenge—to concentrate upon smaller areas of time in works dealing with early civilization. He describes his book as "primarily a companion for literary studies, not an encyclopedia of mediaeval civilization." While it is true that the professed mediaevalists will dig in the source and consult the great studies of mediaeval institutions, the undergraduate and the general reader will relish this volume for the abundant details it supplies. In a sense it will serve as an encyclopedia; there are no lengthy and profound treatments of institutions, but the uninitiated can acquire here the essentials of such items as money, writing materials, roads, students' lodgings, bedding, meals, table etiquette, castles, manors, town houses, dress, medicine, amusements, student life, etc. The historical background, with Eleanor of Aquitaine as the key figure of the half century, is brief, but satisfactory; the economic background, however, is somewhat superficial. The style is usually pleasing, but at times the absence of transitional sentences and the too abrupt closings strike a jarring note. The book is heavily documented, the references being placed after the final chapter; it contains helpful maps of London and Paris, some fine illustrations, and numerous sketches inset in the text, and is provided with a satisfactory index. (ANSELM BIGGS)

HUBERT, SISTER MARIE LOUISE. *Pascal's Unfinished Apology. A Study of His Plan.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1952. Pp. x, 165. $3.00.)

Recent editions of Pascal's *Pensées* (Tourneur, 1942; Lafuma, 1947 and 1951) stress the importance of the so-called "première copie" versus the "recueil original," because there an attempt was made to arrange the fragments into twenty-seven groups according to a provisional plan for organizing his apology, made known by Pascal himself. Based on this plan of 1658, the "copie," the non-classified fragments, and other pertinent documents the writer of this Yale dissertation tries to reconstruct the possible final and complete design of Pascal's *Apology of the Christian Religion.* The pattern, she thinks, and even the whole psychological approach, would not have been different from those of other contemporary apologies, but Pascal would have couched most of the thoughts in the shape of a lively dramatized letter dialogue between himself and "the freethinker" as a type. Sister Louise's enterprise, if accepted, would have great consequences for Pascal philology and would change his stature. Under the impact of the Copernican system Pascal would not feel frightened by the

silence of the infinite spaces, but only the *libertin*, consoled and "made happy" by a calm, sure, unshaken, and quiet Pascal, whose own "pride" and occasional doubt have been eliminated by a "filial" piety, guaranteed by the "mystical" rapture as Pascal's illusion of 1654 (cf. Bremond, *Histoire littéraire*, IV, 368) is here interpreted. This poised Pascal does not hate the Jesuits, blaming only some extreme casuists; is so little tinged by Jansenism that he does not sign the "formulary" of 1661 precisely because he wants to oppose the Jansenists. Pascal's inner tension is reduced to a fondness (*sic!*) for antithesis. Other Pascalian stumbling blocks such as *pari, coeur, machine, abêtissement* are made harmless in similar fashion. Being grateful to Sister Louise for much interesting information, we would not like to follow her in her "exhilarating, if not altogether satisfying" attempt of a reconstruction of Pascal's "plan." (HELMUT HATZFELD)

JANE MARIE, O.P., SISTER. *Christ in His Church.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1952. Pp. xvi, 656. $4.50.)

The theme of this book is stated succinctly in the preface: "The Church is Christ, and the history of the Church is the history of Christ continuing His life among men to the end of time. The Church, however, is not Christ alone, but Christ with all His members, men and women of every race and nation, of different ages, different customs, different traditions, different cultures" (p. v). It is written to enable Catholic boys and girls in high school to become well acquainted with the Church's fulfillment of her divine mission in the world from her earliest days until the present time.

Sister Jane Marie has produced a work admirably suited to this purpose. Her language is simple and direct. At the beginning of each chapter there is an outline, and at the end a review of the matter treated entitled "Aids to Learning." Chapters are grouped together into units and sub-units. Each of the seven units opens with a "Preview," calling attention to the important points that are to be dealt with in that section.

An attractive feature of the book is her down to earth explanation of the heresies and the false philosophical trends in the different ages. Instead of employing high sounding, technical phraseology that would confuse the student of high school age, she has endeavored to present these movements and their impact on the particular era in every day speech. It is a work that all Catholic high school teachers should welcome as a means of enkindling a love for Church history in the youths entrusted to their care. (RICHARD B. FARLEY)

JOLIN, JOHN J., S.J. (Trans.), Professor of Latin, Regis College, Denver, *Meditations of Guigo, Prior of the Charterhouse.* [Mediaeval Philosophical Texts in Translation, No. 6.] (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1951. Pp. 84. $2.00.)

Prior Guigo of the hermitage of La Chartreuse, which had been established in 1084 by St. Bruno of Cologne and abandoned for a while, was the second

founder, if not the real founder and also the legislator of the Carthusian Order. He ruled the solitaries of the Charterhouse from 1110 to 1137 and guided carefully the development in severe asceticism, constitution, customs, and numbers (deliberately restricted as they were) which was afterward so characteristic of the Carthusian way of life. Guigo's meditations, a copy of which was sent to St. Bernard of Clairvaux about 1120, provide a revealing insight into the prior's personality and fervor. Written for himself, they are pithy, strikingly impressive reflections and self-accusations by a master of spirituality who studied his weaknesses and the vanities of temporal things in order to strengthen his love of God. Many of the meditations, only a line or two in length, are cogent, illuminating, and inspirational in the highest degree.

It is not easy to translate Guigo's condensed sentences; but the present translation has been done well, with an adequate introduction, from the Latin edition prepared by Dom André Wilmart [*Meditationes Guigonis Prioris Cartusiae, Le recueil des pensées du B. Guigue* (Paris, 1936)]. It is very suitable, for the series of which it is a part, to help students to know and appreciate mediaeval Latin literature. (JAMES S. DONNELLY)

JURETSCHKE, HANS. *Vida, obra y pensamiento de Alberto Lista.* (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. 1951. Pp. xi, 717.)

Juretschke emphasizes the fact that his monograph, the most carefully documented and scholarly one writtten on Alberto Lista (1775-1848), is by no means definitive. It grew out of another book, or rather, it grew up in the middle of a book the author was preparing on the influence of the Schlegel brothers in Spain. This had to be interrupted in order to focus more clearly the picture of one of the protagonists in the drama, Lista, the teacher, anti-clerical priest, mason, French collaborator, propagandist, who had such a profound influence on the youth that Larra said of him, "His students are all the youth of Spain." Much of the information about Lista published before 1951 comes from the pens of these students who try to defend their revered master from the charges of opportunistic turncoat. They paint a distorted picture that Juretschke tries to correct, always very cautiously, with the explanation that this is only the first step. His study must be tentative because, as he says, this period is "the least studied epoch of Spanish history. . . . We lack complete and critical editions of the works of almost all the protagonists." As yet no monographic study has been made of Alcalá Galiano, just as influential, if not more so, than Lista.

The book contains the following useful appendices: (1) texts of the poems that Lista did not collect in his lifetime and were not published afterwards; (2) a list of the poems he published in the *Correo literario y económico de Sevilla;* (3) a list of the articles he published in *El censor, La gaceta de Bayona, La estafeta de San Sebastián* and *La estrella;* (4) his class notes, "Lecciones de literatura española"; (5) a discourse, "Sobre la importancia de nuestra literaria," given before the Real Academia Española de la Lengua; (6) the text of 108 letters to his friends, some of which have already been published. (MARGARIT BATES)

KELEHER, WILLIAM A. *Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846-1868.* (Santa Fe: Rydal Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 534. $6.00.)

Mr. Keleher, lawyer by profession, historian by avocation, has devoted a good part of his life to the collection of items on New Mexico history. This volume is part of the fruit of that research and it is so crammed with factual material that it almost partakes of the nature of a source book of the period. The four books, or sections, into which it is divided fill in a gap in the published material for the period. The first section deals with the first twelve years of American rule and is devoted chiefly to an analysis of the Indian situation during the period. The second book treats of the Confederate invasion of the state which carried the Stars and Bars beyond Santa Fe in one swift thrust early in 1862 only to be turned back at Glorieta Pass. The third and fourth sections form the most significant part of the book. In the third the history of the California Column is given. It marched from the Pacific to fight the Confederates but arrived too late to help drive them out. It remained, however, to fight Indians and to afford an opportunity for its commander, General Carelton, to set up a military dictatorship rather unique in American history. The general inaugurated an Indian policy whose effects can be felt to this day. The final book, "The Long Walk," tells the dismal story of the removal by the military of the Navaho Indians to the Bosque Redondo, if not America's first concentration camp, certainly its most unfortunate. *Turmoil in New Mexico* is a definite contribution to the history of New Mexico and the Southwest, particularly with respect to the treatment of the Indians. One would like to know what the Indians and the native New Mexicans thought of this period of turmoil but, unfortunately, most of the records are written by the American newcomers, generally not sympathetically inclined to either the one or the other. (AUGUST RAYMOND OGDEN)

KNIGHT, EDGAR W. *Fifty Years of American Education.* (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1952. Pp. viii, 484. $4.75.)

This volume by Professor Knight of the University of North Carolina is a historical review and critical appraisal of the growth and development of education in this country during the past half century. Professor Knight is well known to the student of educational history; he has made noteworthy contributions over a quarter of a century to educational literature.

In the present work the years 1900-1950, chosen by him, reveal not only marked progress in elementary, secondary, and higher education, but also phenomenal changes in the economic, industrial, political, and social aspects of American life. Educational and social developments of the period are closely interwoven. The principles of Pestalozzianism, Herbartianism, Froebelianism, and the educational philosophy of John Dewey received increased recognition during these decades. Two world wars and a distressing economic depression made the American people aware of vital issues that affected nations in general. A new emphasis was placed on education and interrationalism. The efforts to purge teachers by loyalty oaths made the issue of academic freedom more acute than ever.

These developments and many others which form a part of the story of the recent history of American education are presented by the author from original sources. The interpretation of the materials in particular instances may be open to discussion, but in general the events are carefully described and well evaluated. A significant value of the textbook which is designed for the teacher-training course is that it calls the attention of both teacher and student to the importance of the study of the history of education for an adequate understanding and intelligent solution of contemporary issues and problems. (FRANCIS P. CASSIDY)

KULL, IRVING S. AND NELL M. *A Short Chronology of American History, 1492-1950.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1952. Pp. 388. $6.50.)

Professor Kull of Rutgers University and his wife have produced in this volume a handy work of reference that contains the dates of 10,000 events in American history from the sailing on August 3, 1492, of the *Santa Maria* of Columbus and its sister ships to a statement of Secretary of State Dean Acheson of December 30, 1950, on the struggle of the United States for a free world in opposition to communism. An index of nearly ninety pages helps the student to run down the items covered. One of many uses to which a work of this kind can be put is to correlate contemporary events under a single year. There are eleven references to various happenings in the Catholic Church and one each for Father John Carroll and Cardinal Gibbons. The compilers would have benefited from a little more careful checking into leading American Catholic events. For example, there is no reference to any of the plenary councils of Baltimore, nor are the names of outstanding American Catholic figures like Archbishops John Hughes and John Ireland, Orestes Brownson, and Bishops John L. Spalding and John J. Keane found in the index. Nonetheless, Professor and Mrs. Kull have provided workers in the field of American history with a useful tool for which they will be grateful. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

Le Cardinal Mercier fondateur de séminaire. Recueil publié à l'occasion du centenaire de la naissance du Cardinal Mercier. (Louvain: Séminaire Léon XIII. 1951. Pp. 175.)

The first part of this volume contains an account of the commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Cardinal Mercier held on Sunday, March 4, 1951, in the Séminaire Léon XIII which he founded in 1892 and directed up to the time of his appointment to the See of Malines in 1906. The ceremony was presided over by Joseph Ernest Cardinal Van Roey, Archbishop of Malines, assisted by the papal nuncio and the whole Belgian hierarchy. The speeches delivered on that occasion are given in full.

Far more important in our estimation is the series of papers which follows that account under the title, "Séminaire et sacerdoce d'après le Cardinal Mercier." They were written by professors of the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie who had the privilege of receiving their priestly training in the seminary founded by the cardinal. One after the other presents some aspect of the illus-

trious prelate's views on the priesthood and on seminary training, and together they constitute a real philosophy of the clerical vocation and training which makes them invaluable for seminary rectors, teachers and students. Canon F. Van Steenberghen exposes the cardinal's lofty conception of the role of the diocesan clergy; Canon A. Dondeyne analyzes his theology of the pastoral apostolate; Dr. G. Van Riet presents his ideal of the intellectual training of seminarians; Canon J. Nuttin stresses the importance he attached to the task of insuring a wholesome equilibrium in the life of candidates for the priesthood; and finally Canon G. Verbeke, the actual president of the Seminary of Leo XIII, draws an appealing picture of the results attained by the methods initiated by the cardinal and faithfully carried on by his successors. These papers reveal an aspect of Cardinal Mercier which, perhaps, was unsuspected by many who are quite familiar with his contributions to the neo-scholastic revival, viz., his truly priestly soul and his practical mind. An English translation would be of great service both to students for the priesthood and to all priests engaged in the task of training the clergy. (JULES A. BAISNÉE)

Lexicon Capuccinum—Promptuarium historico-bibliographicum ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum, 1525-1950. (Rome: Bibliotheca Collegii S. Laurentii Brundusini. 1951. Pp. xlviii, 1868 columns. $6.75.)

Fifty years ago a writer in the *Etudes franciscaines* expressed the hope common to all Franciscans that a group of scholars would sift the immense amount of matter pertaining to the Franciscan Order contained in chronicles, annals, bullaria, monumenta, etc., and reduce it to an encyclopedia alphabetically arranged for ready reference. The same hope was entertained by non-Franciscan historians as well. Attempts have been made to meet the need for such a work; but due to lack of organization and obstacles of various sorts, the project, to date, has never gotten beyond the initial stage. However, confining themselves to their own branch of the order, the Capuchins have succeeded in producing a work that may well be taken as the model for all future efforts toward a "Lexicon universale Franciscanum."

The editorial work was in charge of the fathers of the International College at Rome, assisted by collaborators from every province of the order. Within the covers of a single volume there is contained, literally, everything pertaining to the history and life of the Capuchins. Of necessity, the articles are brief, yet they incorporate the essential facts. Each article is followed by a bibliography of inestimable value to the student desiring more detailed information. No doubt the work was prepared primarily for the benefit of members of the order. Hence the ancient practice of giving to individual religious the title of place of birth as well as the name bestowed in religion has been followed in the *index religiosorum*. At first, this proves somewhat confusing to the reader unacquainted with the custom. But after reading the article *nomen fratrum* and the explanation in the preface, the arrangement becomes clear and in no way detracts from the general excellence of the work. The use of various type faces greatly facilitates the use of the *Lexicon* and the entire work is singularly free from typographical errors. (VICTOR E. MILLS)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

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